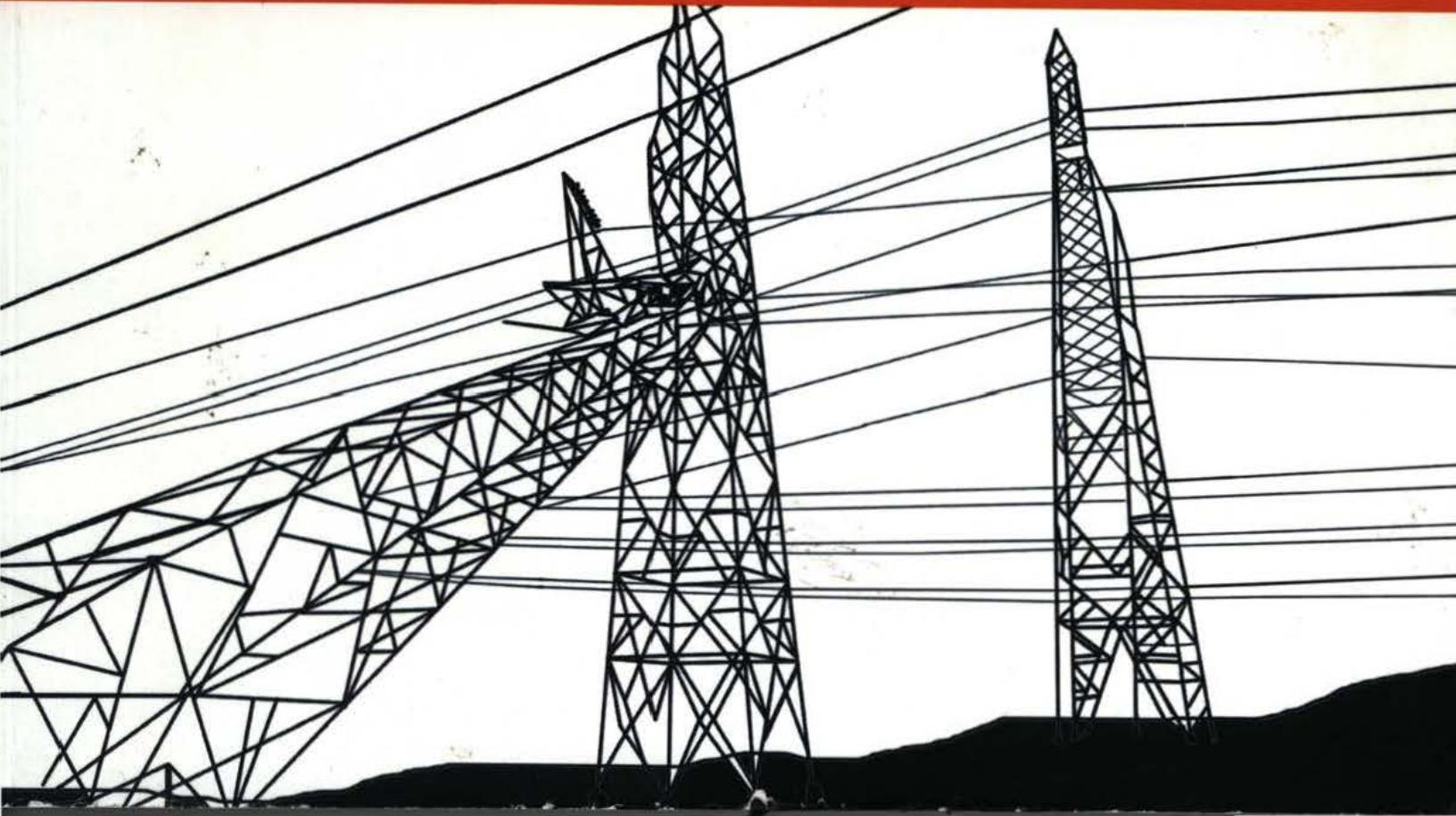


# Insurrection

Omnibus

writings by Jean Weir,  
Alfredo M. Bonanno, and others



# Insurrection, Collected

pieces from *Insurrection* magazine

*decades of remarkable anarchist theory and provocation*

*inspirational biographies,  
personal and theoretical expositions and memoirs:  
life in prison, life incognito,  
life as an anarchist,  
past and present*

ELEPHANT EDITIONS

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Some texts have been lightly edited for clarity and spelling.

The cover continues the theme started by the design folks at 1882 for previous Elephant Editions reprints by Little Black Cart. Thanks for the inspiration!

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## Why Insurrection

**OUR TASK** as anarchists, our main preoccupation and greatest desire, is to see the social revolution realized: terrible upheaval of men and institutions that finally succeeds in putting an end to exploitation and establishing the reign of justice.

For we anarchists the revolution is our guide, our constant point of reference, no matter what we are doing or what problem we are concerned with. The anarchy we want will not be possible without the painful revolutionary break. If we want to avoid turning this into simply a dream we must struggle to destroy the State and exploiters through the revolution.

But the revolution is not a myth simply to be used as a point of reference. Precisely because it is a concrete event, it must be built daily through more modest attempts that do not have all the liberating characteristics of the social revolution in the true sense. These more modest attempts are insurrections. In them the uprising of the most exploited of the masses and the most politically sensitized minority, opens the way to the possible involvement of increasingly wider strata of exploited in a flux of rebellion which could lead to the revolution but could also end up in the establishment of a new power or a bloody confirmation of the old one. In the case of the latter, although the insurrection begins as a liberating uprising it concludes bitterly with the re-establishment of State and private dominion. That is the natural way of things. Insurrection is the indispensable element of the revolution without which, without a long and painful series of which, there will be no revolution and power will reign undisturbed in the fullness of its might. We are not to be discouraged. Once again, obtusely, we are preparing and struggling for the insurrection which will come about, a small part of the great future mosaic of the revolution.

Certainly, capitalism contains deep contradictions which push it towards processes of adjustment and evolution aimed at avoiding the periodic crises that afflict it; but we cannot cradle ourselves in waiting for these crises. When they happen they will be welcomed if they respond to the requirements for accelerating the elements of the insurrectional process. In the meantime, for our part, we are preparing ourselves and the exploited masses for insurrection.

In this sense we consider the time is always ripe for the next insurrection. Better a failed insurrection than a hundred vacillations which cause the failure of a hundred occasions from which it might have been possible for the final revolution to break out. We are therefore against those who say that the recent defeat of the revolutionary movement should make us reflect and conclude that we should be more prudent. We consider that the time for insurrection has come precisely because it is always time to fight, whereas procrastinating is useful only to capital.

To prepare for insurrection means to prepare the subjective conditions (personal and material) which consent a specific anarchist minority to create the indispensable circumstances for the development of the insurrectional process. Although insurrection is a mass phenomenon, and would risk aborting immediately if it were not, its beginning is always the result of the action of a decided minority, a handful of brave ones capable of attacking the nerve centres of the partial objective to be reached.

We must be very clear on this point. The tasks of the anarchist struggle against power can be extremely varied, but all—in our opinion—must be coherently directed towards preparing the insurrection. Some comrades may want to dedicate themselves to theoretical clarification, economic analyses, philosophy or historical research but all this must be immediately functional to the preparation of that minority capable of realizing the insurrection, acting in such a way that the masses participate as widely as possible or that at least that they do not hinder it. Some comrades might consider the insurrection realizable in the near future (not put off to infinity), others that it can be realized right away: this can determine a division of tasks, in the sense that the former will be inclined to interest themselves more in the problems of revolutionary culture, but their final aim must be the same. Otherwise the rebel forces, who need precisely clarity to organize action and not

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chatter to put it off, would be lulled to sleep.

The minority's task of preparation is therefore twofold: on the one hand that of being sensitized to problems at the level of the class struggle that are not only military and political but principally of a social and economic nature. Following that, concrete, specific and detailed preparation with the insurrection in view.

Once again, we insist: the preparation of the wide masses can in no way be one of the pre-conditions of the revolution. If we were to wait for all the masses to be prepared for this grandiose task we would never do anything. We are convinced that the preparation of the great masses will more than anything be a consequence of the revolution, and perhaps not the most immediate one. On the contrary, the revolutionary anarchist minority must be prepared for the historical task which awaits them.

Let us also eliminate the argument of "purity." We do not only participate in insurrections led by anarchists but also in all the other insurrections which have the characteristics of the people in revolt, even if for some reason it is our future enemies, the stalinists, who are leading them. In that case we should try to conquer a better place for ourselves in the struggle itself, during the events, defending as far as possible our programme of total liberation which we shall counterpose to the banally economic ones of the authoritarians. It will be the insurrection itself to verify the rest.

The insurrection is a task to be accomplished right away. But with what concrete means? We have seen that the specific minority must take charge of the initial attack, surprising power and determining a situation of confusion which could put the forces of repression into difficulty and make the exploited masses reflect upon whether to intervene or not. But what do we mean by specific minority? Perhaps the revolutionary movement in the wide sense? These questions require a clear answer.

Let us begin with the widest hypothesis. From the point of view we are interested in, the revolutionary movement as a whole cannot be considered a specific minority capable of realizing the insurrection together. It presents a whole series of contradictions which in turn mirror the contradictions of the society in which we are liv-

ing. To the ideological model corresponds organizational groupings which end up putting theoretical prejudice before the immediate interests of liberation. Moreover, the analytical formulae of a large part of the revolutionary movement are of an authoritarian character, therefore envisage the conquest of the State and not its immediate destruction. They foresee its claimed use in an antibourgeois sense and not its disappearance. This part of the revolutionary movement therefore clearly have no interest in preparing for insurrection right away as they delude themselves that time is on their side, crumbling away the supporting base of capitalism and preparing the revolutionary situation without the dangerous antichamber of the insurrection. We would thus find this section of the revolutionary movement to take an anti-insurrectional position, going as far as (as we have seen in many cases recently) attacking and denouncing the anarchist comrades who support the opposite thesis. We conclude at this point that it is not possible to widen the concept of the specific minority. Hypothetically, when the stalinists unleash their insurrectional process, either because they are convinced that the revolutionary conditions are ripe or because they are drawn by the solicitations of the base who are not interested in ideological refinements, then our task will be that of participating in the insurrection with all our forces, to fight in the concrete field of struggle and find there the necessary space for our ideas. In the case of the contrary where it is we who are the initiators and proposers of the insurrection, we might quite-possibly find this part of the revolutionary movement to be in an opposite position or, at best, in the position of waiting.

Let us now see if the anarchist movement as a whole can be considered a specific minority capable of eventually realizing insurrection. The conclusion is negative yet again. The contradictions within the movement are immense and mainly due to the fears and restraints which a restricted group of pinchbecks have carefully seminated within it. The movement today resembles an old coat covered in patches which only with a great deal of good will remembers its past splendours. The flight towards hypothetical forms of elitist interventions such as the attempt to impose preconstituted analyses

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or catechisms ready for use, or when it claimed to supply the whole movement with the final analysis to be put into practice right away, has proved a failure. The same flight backwards towards anarchosyndicalism which could not fail to leave both the exploited as a whole and the revolutionary comrades disappointed. And then the wider and ascertained politics of the ostrich, of hiding behind the fear of provocation in order to do nothing, only to intervene after the event, always with the scales at hand to weigh, judge and condemn those few comrades who were doing anything at all, even if circumscribed and limited. From this part of the movement there remains but the name, the symbol, a few old comrades, a few young comrades old before their time, a few optimists who never lose hope, parchment mummies in their little shop. The great number of active comrades who form the revolutionary part of the anarchist movement and who are ready to begin the struggle must not be discouraged by Cassandras and birds of ill omen. Action is the measure for distinguishing beyond symbols and declarations of principle.

It is precisely the comrades who are available for action who make up the specific minority. They will be the ones to prepare and realize the insurrection in the ways and forms which the experience of the revolutionary struggle as a whole has transmitted to us, and taking into consideration the recent modifications of the State and the bosses. The method cannot fail to take account of these minimal organizational forms of the base which will have to solve the various problems which will arise during the insurrectional preparation. In these organizational forms the responsibility for the work to be done must obviously fall on the revolutionary anarchist comrades and cannot be left to goodwill or improvisation. At this stage the very rules of survival impose the indispensable conditions of security and caution. The urgency of action puts an end to pointless chatter.

There is more to be said of the actions carried out in minimal structures of intervention by the specific minority as just identified. These actions cannot be considered purely from the point of view of "propaganda by the deed". Their aim, in fact, is not that of giving an ex-

ample or of influencing a wide range of sympathizers. Certainly this empirical aspect also exists, bearing in mind that the maximum alliance which will guarantee the success of future plans is that of the masses in revolt, but this aspect is easily recuperated by the mechanism of capitalist information which transform it into goods retailing it through the newspapers, television, cinema, books, etc. The truth is that the specific minority themselves, through realizing action, have the possibility of making something clear to others if they understand something themselves in the moment of the action itself. The action therefore means education through action, and education of oneself and others. If we consider that we know everything and entrust exclusively in our own knowledge in the moment of action, we place into the hands of capitalism a repetitive mechanism which inserts itself perfectly within the generalized mechanism of capitalist production which is, above all else, repetition to infinity.

The action of the specific minority must therefore consist not of an interruption of learning at one's own cost as to what the reality of the struggle is, but a gradual and complete transformation of one's own learning in showing others how one learns to understand the reality of the struggle. If the action of the specific minority gives an example of anything it gives the example of how one learns to single out and strike the enemy, and not how one teaches. The right action at the right time becomes the substance of the individual and specific attack and symbol of all the possible future attacks, and this unfurling of a moment which has not yet reached maturity is the maximum level of intervention which the minority reaches operating in the reality of the struggle. The class struggle characterizes the conflict in act and is the element which allows: the concrete action of the specific minority. Within its action transforms itself continually from attempt to understand to attempt to teach. Cancelling the first moment everything drown in repetition, cancelling the second, everything drowns in decision.

In the continual flux of the class struggle one finds every thing, teachers and pupils. If it everything finds its right place within the relationship of strength. Whoever has no learned

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from their own mistake can demonstrate nothing to others, and an eminent way of not learning is precisely by ceasing to learn, of thinking that the time has come to teach and that is all. Through the filter of the class struggle the memory of the revolution unfolds slowly becoming something which can be handed down. In action this memory is handed down concretely and becomes perceptible to others at the moment in which it is reflection and criticism for the person who carries out the action himself.

Each individual minimal structure of intervention which acts within the specific minority runs the risk of placing itself in dialogue with the revolutionary movement as a whole and, sometimes with the whole mass of the exploited, if the sense of one's action is not imposed correctly. Taking ourselves as an isolated part in the face of so many references we illude ourselves that the whole movement and the exploited, their sort and the sort of the revolution, depends on us; we expect who knows what from what we are doing; we remain frustrated by the superficiality of the response and the general incomprehension. The revolutionary struggle is like a wavy sea against which to struggle would be vain folly, it is necessary to

adapt ourselves to the direction of the waves, to swim sometimes strongly and sometimes lightly, to gather the impetus of life which the sea hides within it to reach the desired goal. In this difficult art of swimming is hidden the political meaning of minority action. The latter puts emphasis on its class significance, exploding suddenly as a fruit of the revolutionary memory and as indication for the struggle now in act.

We think therefore that the action of these minimal structures are yet again indispensable—if correctly chosen—for the preparation of that insurrectional process which we consider the immediate task of all anarchists and which cannot be postponed. Far from being a contrast between the two things—as some have tried to point out to us—we consider that they are complementary and indissociable. The basic work of the minimal structure of intervention sums itself up in the whole work, of an organizational and general nature, of the specific minority as a whole. The insurrection will be, yet again, the acid test of what has been done, cause and effect at the same time of that modifying of relationships of strength which consent the opening of the doors of the revolution.

## Dossier COMISO

Comiso, a small town of 28,000 inhabitants in the south east of Sicily, has been chosen to house the largest arsenal of Cruise atomic missiles in Europe. If the local population does not mobilize soon to prevent this criminal manoeuvre decisively along the lines which have been successful in places such as Larzac in the south of France (where a shepherds and peasants managed, after years of occupation and struggle, to regain their land from the French State's nuclear project), not only Comiso, but the whole of Sicily will shortly be transformed into a militarized desert.

The foundations for this US strategy have already been laid (see 'American bases in Sicily, p. 10). The Cruise missile base, with its accom-

panying contingent of 15,000 US technicians and soldiers, is planned to become the nerve centre to link up the already existing structures, in turn preparing to house this mobile arsenal of death during their intended excursions throughout Sicilian territory, for that is the intention: to move the missiles throughout Sicily in lorries to programme their genocidal trajectories to Russia, Libya, or wherever else US interests feel themselves threatened.

Certainly, for the Sicilians the perspective of a foreign domination is nothing new: from the Romans, Arabs, Byzantines, Normans, French, Spanish, and Piedmontese, the exploited of the island have known domination and submission, the bourgeoisie dealings and enrichment. No

doubt this fact also influenced the American assassins' choice, complementary to the island's strategic position in the Mediterranean. The long suffering proletariat of the island (once a fertile garden, the granary of the Roman Empire) deliberately kept below poverty level by capital concentration in the north, are so accustomed to foreign invasion that it has become almost a way of life. An army of social scientists have been studying the coup, and the first of the invaders have arrived, especially chosen Italo-American families, nice people with nice children and lots of nice dollars to spend on rents, cars, furnishings, etc, in such a way that the most avid of the shopkeeping and commercial class and the most alienated part of the bored youth far from the explosions of rage in the northern metropoli are beginning to hope that the American dream has finally reached their doorsteps. Not so for the thousands of unemployed farmhands who fill the piazzas at dusk in the hope of finding work for the next day (with the chance of about one day out of every fifteen), the thousands of proletarian housewives incarcerated in the drought-stricken quarters of the town (running water two hours a day, yet Comiso is built upon a natural spring and underground wells containing millions of litres of water), the hundreds of building labourers deliberately made unemployed through the political strategy of antiseismic laws (where the threat of earthquake prevents them from building two-storey houses and at the same time permits the installation of an atomic bomb plant) in order to render them, out of desperation in a land where the misery of social security sounds like an Arcadian dream, favourable to the base as bringer of jobs to the area. All these strata and many more are profoundly against the arrival of the Americans and their deadly wares. Why have they not done anything about it then?

As well as a certain defeatist and longsuffering attitude, as well as the mafiosi politicians of the Christian Democracy and the Socialist Party (Socialist "defence" minister Lagorio at national level, and mayor Catalano of Comiso) who signed the agreement to house the missiles, great responsibility lies with the local political forces who claim to be against the base, in particular the Communist Party which still holds considerable credibility in the area. This party,

the largest communist party in Europe, can at the drop of a hat mobilize a demonstration of 100,000 people by laying on buses and bringing them from all over Sicily and the rest of Italy, and this has been their strategy: to call for a massive peace march, a day of letting off steam, shouting of slogans, dancing in the fields then, home to wait for the next directive. A few of their leaders have participated in symbolic limited hunger strikes; a petition has been signed including 12,500 signatures from Comiso alone. Good democratic, totally ineffective dissense. The CUDIP<sup>1</sup> – CP initiative – permanently in existence in Comiso, is another democratic vent, as is substantially the international peace camp that includes the MIR<sup>2</sup>, various colours of pacifists, buddhist monks, etc. Their good intentions are exceeded only by the ineffectiveness of their gestures which have until now included the construction of a wall of cardboard boxes in front of the airport, the drawing of corpses on the streets of Comiso, debates on theories of pacifism, encounters with archbishops, and are always available for discussion with other expressions of the power structure such as police, politicians, the Pope, etc. Even the FLM<sup>3</sup> from Milan, reputed to be one of the most combative unions in Italy, in their only public appearance during the week their delegates spent in Comiso, simply covered the piazza Fonte Diana in multi-coloured paper doves and gave a talk with no precise indications. In the zoological park that Comiso had become, concrete proposals of struggle were essential.

Anarchist groups Rivolta e Liberta of Catania and Ragusa anarchist group have been working to this end since May this year. May, June, and July were spent doing a series of outdoor meetings in Comiso and the twelve or so surrounding towns and villages, with bookstalls, and mass distribution of leaflets containing counter-information concerning the base and urging workers in the area to organize against it.

An international anarchist conference was held in the municipal sports ground in Comiso July 31 and August 1 to discuss the position of the anarchist movement on the struggle in course and to measure the participation of the movement at the level of regular space in anarchist publications, printing of posters, ra-

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dio programmes, subscriptions, etc. In spite of the terrific heat the conference (attended by about two hundred comrades) was fairly positive, and culminated in a public meeting in the piazza Fonte Diana where comrade Alfredo Bonanno talked to the comrades and the people of Comiso (male workers and unemployed, the women of Comiso do not circulate freely and the female comrades went to talk to them in their places of repression, i.e. the home), denouncing the criminal US project and urging those present to organize to fight it.

The meeting was also the scene of an anti-militarist action: anarchist comrade Pippo Scarso who lives in the Ragusa area and is extremely active in the work against the base, made a declaration as to why he had refused to turn up for military service when called up the previous month, (see p. 15) and tore up his call-up card. None of the hundreds of carabinieri surrounding the piazza budged to arrest him—they realized the local sympathy was strong and that an arrest would be counter-productive. Pippo is still working at Comiso, he has been informed that he is to be tried for "instigation to commit a crime" as well as do twelve months' sentence for objection against the armed forces. After the meeting comrades marched in the dark to the Magliocco airport, proposed site of the missile base. The police presence was massive but the demonstration did not allow itself to be provoked and the point was made, at this point symbolically only: that if we want to prevent the base we must go towards it, not from it as all the previous grandiose marches had done.

As the weeks went on, however, the comrades realized that there was a positive response to their efforts but that it was necessary to go beyond counter-information and suggestions. A concrete organizational proposal was necessary as the logical consequence of their discourse. It was necessary to find an organizational form which would automatically, through its methodology and general principles, make the class selection necessary for a direct attack on the base. The form chosen was the self-managed League, an autonomous, anti-bureaucratic, anti-hierarchical, mass organism (see Document p. 11) which can be formed even by two or three people, but always in the optic

of a quantitative growth and with the sole and unique aim of occupying and destroying the base. The League as instrument of struggle is not foreign to the local peasants and farmhands who used this method in the years following the war to occupy the land and successfully expropriated it from the landowners. Many of the townspeople of Comiso have also known the experience of mass rebellion. Comiso was one of the major towns in Sicily to rise up against the Italian State's call back to arms at the beginning of 1945. Exhausted and disheartened workers returned from the front to find their families in abject poverty and they refused to return to fight. A great antimilitarist insurrection took place in Comiso, Ragusa and many of the nearby villages, and the State's tanks and machine guns did not intimidate the Comisani then. It is towards this situation of mass rebellion that the work carried out by the anarchist comrades in the area is directed.

The month of August was spent preparing for this next phase in the struggle, and in September small premises were opened near the centre of Comiso, a co-ordinating office as point of reference, communication and support for the Leagues which were beginning to form in the area. The whole of the ground covered in the early months was returned to: Over twenty outdoor meetings, thousands of leaflets distributed, Document relative to the Leagues printed, radio and television programmes, etc. The results to date have been encouraging. There are now almost ten selfmanaged Leagues in the area, and the terminology and project which they are proposing has become popular knowledge. In Vittoria, a town of 40,000 inhabitants 6 km from Comiso, 400 school pupils came out on strike spontaneously on reading the leaflet from the Coordinamento (see p. 9). They have since formed a League of students whose first initiative was that of leafletting all the other five major secondary schools in Vittoria, calling them to an immediate strike and outdoor assembly. Within an hour the piazza Gramsci was filled with over a thousand 15-18 year olds, enthusiastically discussing the problem of the base and the mystifications that surround it. The almost immediate arrival of police and carabinieri did not deter them, some of whose names were taken in the

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controls that followed when the major part of the meeting had dissembled. Debates are now being organized within the schools, and in Comiso a students' League has been formed. There also exists an intersectoral League in Comiso, as well as in Pedalino, Chiaramonte, Belpasso, Catania. In the county of Mistretta, a mountainous area in the north of Sicily between Messina and Palermo, a self-managed League against the missile base at Comiso has also been formed. This area has recently been chosen by the government to become a firing range for the Italian army. The large mountainous area is at present an important sheeprearing area, and the local shepherds, determined to fight the decision, have forced the 13 local mayors, many of them Christian Democrats, to go against their party's criminal plans.

Another very important area which has been reached by the comrades through the Coordinamento is that of the 3,000 workers of the ANIC petrol refinery in Gela, in south western Sicily. The Americans now have over fifty per cent shares in the company which is at present under restructuring, i.e. sacking of 500 workers, another 700 due to laid off. Clearly once the Americans have not only financial but also military control of the area, they will not hesitate to close this now out of date plant which no longer interests them. Their health (another worker was killed there two weeks ago) and environment ruined by poisonous fumes, the only perspective that faces the workers there is to join the already hundreds of unemployed in the town square every morning in the vain hope of finding a day's labouring. The solution of the past—to pack the cardboard suitcase and join the assembly lines of Switzerland and Germany—is no longer even open to them. Clearly they have every interest in organizing in first person to fight the arrival of the Americans and to create a force capable of imposing their demands on the structures of economic power. Their interest in the contents of the leaflets re the Leagues and eventual occupation and destruction of the base was great, to such an extent that the morning shift did not go in when the bell rang, and the servants of the management rang for the police. The comrades present were driven to the police headquarters and threatened with expulsion from the area with sinister menaces of what

would become them should they return as they said they would. The ANIC workers meanwhile had obliged a trade union and CP representative to go to the police to get the comrades out. Since then two more leaflets have been distributed at the ANIC, and a meeting held in the main square of Gela with several hundred workers and unemployed present. On the workers' request attempts are being made to hold a general assembly with them inside the factory, project which has obviously met with the obstructionism of the unions. However, this area remains one of potential explosion. The forces of repression in all their forms, police, politicians, mass media, etc, are doing what they can to obstruct the work of the Coordinamento. Open attempts to intimidate, spreading of rumours, printing false information are but a few of the well worn techniques that have been put into effect until now. The work is continuing, and comrades are determined to intensify it over the next weeks so that the occupation of the base should be possible in the spring. If things continue as they are going there is every chance that this will be possible.

It is necessary for anarchist comrades everywhere to be aware of what is going on in Comiso and realize that this is not a local problem, but one which concerns the whole of Europe and the world. All comrades can participate in the struggle, either by coming to Comiso themselves, or keeping informed and distributing counter-information in their own areas of struggle. Financial support is essential to meet the expenses, which go far beyond the possibilities of the local comrades.

THERE IS STILL TIME TO PREVENT THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CRUISE MISSILE BASE AT COMISO!

#### notes

1 CUDIP: United Committee for Peace and Disarmament in Comiso

2 MIR: International Reconciliation Movement

3 FLM: Pederazione Lavoratori Metalmeccanici (Metallurgists' and Mechanics' Union)

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# The Cruise Missile Base at Comiso Can Be Prevented!

*Single issue printed by Ragusa anarchist group and Rivolta e Liberia anarchist group, Catania — July, 1982*

## *Why Comiso and Sicily*

US imperialism's decision to place Cruise missiles in Comiso, in the centre of Sicily and the Mediterranean, is of an easily comprehensible military and strategic significance. Beyond the pro-American propaganda on a purely military and technical level which explains away this criminal decision as necessary to maintain an equilibrium with the Soviet missiles located on the Eastern frontiers of Europe, there is the fact that the very decision to build the missile base places itself in the optic of "preparing for war to maintain peace", forever the battlecry of States who see in war a solution for the difficulties of domination and the continuation of exploitation.

Why Comiso? The answer is simple. As well as the strictly military ones there are economic and political reasons. Sicily, like Friuli, Campania and Sardinia—other areas chosen for the installation of atomic arms—are underdeveloped situations where three perspectives which are extremely favourable to capitalist dominion are foreseeable: a) intensive militarization of the territory to the point of reaching the closure of vast areas and even their "desert- ization"; b) organization of the struggle entrusted to the parties of the so-called left, with whom it is always possible to enter into dialogue and reach compromises; c) the great need for work, especially to avoid the prospect of emigration, which constitutes the most powerful blackmail for gaining mass consensus for the construction of the base.

These are the reasons for the choice of Comiso, and therefore also constitute an outline of the difficulties which any revolutionary struggle intending to subvert and defeat imperialism's project of building the base in Comiso will encounter.

## *The Sicilian reality*

One of the levers of consensus which American imperialism can count on in Sicily is a certain mentality of delegation and fatalism which has

inserted itself within the popular strata, especially the land labourers, and which finds a response in the mafia mentality which directs a power alternative to that of the State and which is often more efficient than the latter.

Local capitalism in Sicily contains a strong mafia content and has relations of patronage both with the intermediate strata and with the poorest of the population. These relationships substantially substitute State power, which is often seen as something far off and attainable only through the mafia intermediary.

The Municipality, the Province, the Region, and the various organisms of assistance are used in an exclusively patrimonial context, serving to support a capillary and efficient structure of consensus. The bureaucracy has not yet reached the technological levels which characterize it elsewhere but still has the great Bourbon tradition transplanted from Piedmont which renders indispensable the element of mafia power manoeuvres and the connection between the political and economic mafias.

The industrial centres are anomalous, the greater part of the island working class not having an industrial specification but—having foreseen with the shrewdness characteristic of the poor that these installations were essentially capitalist traps—has not lost contact with their original peasant reality and at present find themselves in a situation which is neither working class nor belonging to the strata of peasant or farmhand. The weakness of the struggle from this area is striking.

The land labourers are basically the most combatant proletarian reality because they are linked to very difficult and often minimal situations of survival. The Communist Party, the Socialist Party and even the Christian Democrats are trying to involve the latent dissent of this strata in productive organizations such as co-operatives giving a prospect of continued work and guaranteeing consensus to make it safe for them to approach moments of greater social tension where they will not be able to keep the promises they have made. In the Ragusa area the present situation presents more complex characteristics due to the greenhouse productive sector where alongside the proprietor of a particularly profitable piece of land one finds

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the figure of the halfday labourer, at the same time wagearner and small proprietor, nominally available for the struggle but substantially tied to the profit perspective, that of small property and therefore of compromises with power capable of guaranteeing or destroying the conditions which make the small peasant greenhouse cultivation productive.

The lumpenproletariat strata fluctuates a great deal. It grows during the phases of increased unemployment in the building industry and when the possibility of work in the industrial sector diminishes. Farmhands and day labourers who are, within certain limits, available for the struggle, also enter this undoubtedly interesting strata. The source of income for the lumpenproletariat of the Ragusa area is extremely varied: from social assistance to sweat labour, from lay off money to work on the land, from microscopic commercial activities (street selling, small transporters, middlemen in improbable real estate affairs, etc), to simply survival. This strata is accustomed to poverty and suffering. In the Ragusa area the tendency towards the organized crime typical of the Palermo and Catania areas is more restricted and this could become a considerable area of absorption when, in the perspective of the realization of the base, the large mafia organizations intervene massively in the area.

#### *The illusion of wellbeing*

The argument of the wellbeing the Americans would bring to the Comiso area has been put forward corollary to that of the slight or nonexistent dangers the installation of the base would represent.

This is an argument that always attracts the attention of the exploited. They can understand it because for them the concept of sacrifice – of any kind – is inherent to the concept of work. The State is far away, hence if one wants to obtain anything it is always necessary to refer to local patronage, but when the State approaches to propose a grandiose project, then the old illusions are rekindled.

The poor foster a hope of solving their problem, and the rich know with certainty that, even if for only a period, their wealth will increase. The army of those who are neither rich

nor poor tries to obtain the maximum utility from the occasion.

In this perspective the affair is proposed by international capitalism, local forces are mobilised by national capitalism that, in agreement with the mafia structures, guarantees the functioning of patronage and lays the foundations for its concrete realization. The exploited try to extract all the benefit possible. The blackmail – precarious wages, commercial affairs, increase in sales for shopkeepers – reach insupportable levels.

The consequences of this are very serious: the breaking up of the cultural homogeneity which alone could have guaranteed the progressive development of the struggle and therefore also collective wellbeing; upheaval of the local market (rise in prices of goods of prime necessity, rents, abnormal development in circulation of money and goods); militarisation of the territory which could even go as far as the closure of wide areas and periodical or continued blanket control, to the presence of large contingents of the army and various police forces; impossibility of exploiting even the minimal advantages guaranteed by the same irrational managerial and commercial activity; rationalism of the mafioso patrons on the Palermo model; presence of serious mafia conflicts resulting in hundreds of murders; rise in criminal activity (robberies, extortions, theft, violence of every kind); rationalisation and increase in heavy drug market (in the first place heroin and cocaine); diffusion and mafia control of prostitution.

#### *Social peace*

The peace of the bosses is built on arms, declared and potential conflicts, missile installations, armies, police, military and mafia-type cultures. It is the peace of the graveyard. Along the road of capital's transformation from formal dominion to that of real dominion the contradictions typical of competitive capital are diminishing, leaving the perspective of profit at any cost in favour of increased State intervention in the economic field. This intervention transforms the conditions of economic competition, puts the profit objective into second place, rationalizes exploitation and centralizes domination which is camouflaged by the democratic

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and representative charade.

The production of value is subordinated to the production of social peace. Consensus becomes the principal industry around which the whole State machinery turns, exclusively directed towards guaranteeing international capitalism exploitation on a planetary level. The local problem passes into second place in the perspective of the equilibrium and projects of the multinationals. Assistance is gradually taking over from the logic of production.

But the solving of capitalism's contradictions, especially at a regional and local level, cannot be attained unless it goes beyond the conditions of present-day capitalism which are often backward. Social conflicts are still acute and can even worsen as a consequence of the need to progressively extend the project of real domination to all parts of the world. The difficulties in the production of social peace are therefore still great. And it is in this direction that the efforts of those struggling against domination must address their efforts, against the State and against Capital. Our class enemy has a vested interest in preparing for the final extinction of any opposition and revolutionary dissent but to do that it must improve the conditions of exploitation which at present cause, among other things, one death every hour and one wounded every five minutes in Italy alone. This improvement will rationalize exploitation and therefore the class struggle will become more complex, but time is needed to put it into effect. In the meantime it will always be necessary for the bosses to oppose each other in the international clash both on the economic and the narrow military level. This tragically leads to nuclear decisions, atomic war decisions, and decisions such as genocide (Lebanon, Afghanistan, San Salvador, etc) which lead back to the problem of the level of the class struggle.

In this way capitalism works towards war while speaking of peace. It builds, sells and uses traditional and atomic arms, but affirms that it does so because there is no other way to safeguard social peace. The exploited have no interest in this "peace" of the bosses.

#### *Those Responsible*

Limiting ourselves to the construction of the

missile base at Comiso it is possible to identify a few basic responsibilities.

International capitalism and its national and local equivalent have an interest in the armed defence of their projects of domination. The NATO, in as far as it is a specific organism created for this defence, is the armed gendarme who intervenes to put a brake on situations which are dangerous for capital and to prevent situations of social conflict being created in perspective. To do this both military (coordination between different armies, new armaments, common exercises, deployment of military contingents), and political means are used.

In the political perspective the Christian Democrats are the party which has revealed itself to be incapable of undertaking the task of protecting the interests of international capital. For this reason, in the orbit of government, the Italian Socialist Party has been inserted, and has increasingly become the party of the Americans and the most suitable political force at a technological and managerial level for doing what the Christian Democrats – too tied to mafia patronage with a backward mentality – failed to do. But the essential cover is supplied by the Communist Party. It is this party that takes charge of putting a brake on the rebellious impulse of the exploited, organizing the recuperation of every form of dissent, breaking up the combativity of the land labourers through the formation of cooperatives and other swindles such as participation in factory profits, channelling the quite legitimate hopes of those who have never had anything to cause them to lose their conflictual content. We have seen clearly how, in the case of Comiso, the gigantic party machinery has been put into action to develop a formal and platonic dissent through marches, petitions, and hunger strikes, all to prevent a real and effective dissent taking place based on occupation, sabotage, attacks on the bosses' interests, the preparation of the means to prevent the construction of the base.

Another strata that bears a strong responsibility in the project of robbery and death which is being planned for Comiso is that of the shopkeepers. Their miserable interest in increasing sales, of seeing dollars circulating instead of the usual few lire, has been exalted as a benefit

which would be enjoyed by the collectivity of the whole area, while it is dramatically obvious that their personal and circumscribed interests would be heavily paid for by the poor if not other than by an immediate and considerable rise in prices from rents to goods of primal necessity. There can be no doubt that one of the obstacles to be contended with in the struggle will be precisely the organization of the shopkeepers in the area.

Another category that bears responsibility is that of the small proprietor who conformed immediately to the indications of struggle supplied by the CP, precisely because they are convinced that this strategy does not intend to do anything of any immediate real content. In fact the small proprietors, even those directly damaged by the construction of the base, want to prevent its construction, but this is subordinated to an eventual proposal of an indemnity allowance by the organs responsible. In other words their struggle is linked to an uncertain condition: first they want to see how the State and the Region behave, only then will they really be available to struggle and could go back on this if a proposal by the responsible bodies should become convenient again.

But there is one last category which will bear a great responsibility should it not respond coherently to the proposals of the bearers of death: the category of workers, especially the labourers in the building sector, and even more the great number of unemployed who have deliberately been thrown into the gutter during the past few months in order to create a favourable disposition towards the base (bringing work and wellbeing!). The swindle is not difficult to understand. The consistency and duration of the work itself is practically minimal, the benefits to be drawn from it will have the same limited duration and soon be reabsorbed by the increase in prices, hence the solution would still be that of remaining unemployed or of leaving to swell emigration. One might just as well impose one's own conditions right away, establishing the terms of the struggle immediately, making it impossible for the bearers of death to continue their blackmail. It is necessary to be very clear on this subject. Struggling immediately and efficiently, two results could be obtained: the construction of the base would be blocked and the bosses and

politicians be obliged to find a solution to the problem of unemployment with other initiatives which will be realized more quickly the more effective the struggle against the base.

#### *An organizational proposal*

Our intervention in the reality of Comiso and the whole of the Ragusa area—in the towns of Ragusa, Vittoria, Modica, Ispica, Giarratana, Monterosso and the principal villages of the coastal region—which is still in course, can be divided into three phases and culminates with a proposal of self-managed organization.

The first phase has developed and is continuing to develop a direct contact with the different situations through meetings in the town squares and leaf-letting. The arguments chosen for the meetings and the drawing up of leaflets have been deliberately simplified, avoiding very detailed and complicated analyses in order to centre the argument on one point: the construction of the base can be prevented, on the condition that the means suitable for doing so are used; the means suggested and put into practice by the Communist Party are not suitable for preventing the construction of the base. This aim will not be reached through colossal but ineffective marches, courageous but isolated hunger strikes or the signing of petitions which will be rendered useless by the swindles of power. Such means are fictitious, and do not really intend to prevent the construction of the base. It is necessary to employ harder and more effective ones. The bosses and their servants understand one language: that of fear. It is necessary therefore to frighten them, as has been done in the past. It is enough to think of the occupation of the land that has put an end to the injustices of the large landowners. It is therefore necessary to have recourse to the means of occupation, sabotage, hard frontal attack.

The second phase in our intervention is centred on the organization of the international anarchist conference which will take place in Comiso in the municipal sports ground on July 31 and August 1. It will be a fundamental occasion for the anarchist movement, along with the most sensitive area of the proletariat and lumpenproletariat, to go into the problem of the struggle against the base. From this con-

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ference should emerge indications of method, analytical indications and more general indications of struggles as the problem of Comiso runs the very great risk of isolation, i.e. of becoming closed as a specific struggle within a precise area of Sicily and within that kind of struggle which has as its point of reference antimilitarism, the struggle against war and against nuclear power. The passage to the generalization of interventions to other sectors, and therefore the discussion and examination of methods to be used in struggle against the base in Comiso can only be realized through an analytical and creative contribution of the movement as a whole.

The third phase is predominantly organizational and does not necessarily follow the first two but can develop parallel to them. Our aim is to suggest the creation (and therefore to contribute to creating) selfmanaged leagues against the Comiso base in the various localities, leagues which will be able to continue the struggle in first person, determining the characteristics of the conflict, decided by the various localities, leagues which will be able to continue the struggle in first person. In our opinion, and basing this on the results of the first phase of intervention, we are reasonably certain that a strong dissent exists in the various provinces of Ragusa and particularly in Comiso itself among the base of the CP concerning the methods of struggle suggested by this party. Moreover there also exists considerable dissent within the base of the Socialist Party who do not share the positions of Craxi and Lagorio, and this component is very strong especially among the old farm hands. Moreover one can count on a non-political dissent which could, if opportunely sensitized through a capillary intervention in the peripheries of the various towns, draw in the proletarian women in particular. In a struggle such as Comiso the function which this strata could develop should in no way be underestimated.

In conclusion, it appears that our efforts should be directed towards the birth and growth of this organizational structure with self-managed characteristics. The development of the struggle, which we foresee must necessarily addfess itself towards harder and more acute levels, would then have a solid base which

would necessarily and autonomously be capable of operating the class selection which will make the positive result of the revolutionary engagement possible.

## Organizational Document of the Self-Managed Leagues

The decision to build a base for 112 American Cruise missiles at Comiso is part of the project of political and military equilibrium between the two great superpowers. The justification given to this deadly enterprise is that it is necessary to counterpose with all possible means, the Russian atomic bases that are lined up against Europe.

In fact it is not possible to put a brake on the criminal initiatives of the Soviet Union which as a superpower has betrayed the antimilitarist ideals of the international proletariat through just as criminal initiatives as those of the United States and their European servants. The increase in atomic bases does not defend from attacks from anywhere but constitutes a grave threat for the survival of the whole planet. The struggle must be directed towards preventing new bases (such as the one at Comiso) but also to destroying those already in existence, including the Russian ones and those of all the other States.

Comiso is destined to becoming the largest atomic missile base in Europe and the forerunner of other bases to be built in Spain, Germany, Great Britain and elsewhere. If we do not manage to prevent this criminal project we Sicilians shall be the first to have the responsibility of seeing in our land the largest atomic bomb plant in existence in Europe today.

This sad record will be accompanied by a series of other negative consequences which the arrival of an American army of occupation (15,000 US soldiers are expected) will cause immediately. Rise in prices, circulation of heavy

drugs, increase in prostitution, militarisation of the territory, presence in our area of mafioso organizations to sell drugs to the Americans, control prostitution, and speculate on the contracts for work on the base. All this will mean an increase in violence (robberies, kidnappings, thefts) and restriction of individual freedom (controls, road blocks, militarized zones, etc).

The Socialist Party has shown itself to be a true servant of American interests, accepting the imposition of the USA and approving the order to build the base in Sicily through their defence minister Lagorio. The Christian Democrats have set to work right away to control building contracts for the hotels, apartments and restaurants which the Americans will need, and all the contracts for the construction of the base itself, through the mafia.

The Communist Party has given inefficient and discontinuous indications of struggle, showing themselves to be undecided, weak and inefficient. Marches (even composed of 100,000 people), petitions, hunger strikes, impress no one.

The struggle against the construction of the Comiso missile base requires other means and methods.

## **The Self-Managed League**

### **A) Characteristics**

- Is an autonomous organization of struggle which gathers all those who really and sincerely intend to prevent the construction of the base.
- Is not a bureaucratic organization. It has no statutes, associative rules, constitutive documents, etc. It can also have no permanent meeting place.
- The individual Leagues spread over the territory are born spontaneously and have as sole point of reference the general principles specified here.
- The League is therefore an organism of struggle which refuses to give permanent delegation to its representatives and so denies a specific professionalism of this representation.
- The League is constantly engaged in the struggle against the construction of the base.
- Each component of the League considers himself to be in struggle against the base and against the interests which want to realize it,

recognizing that these interests are those of the exploiters and their servants.

- The League is not an organization of defence of the interests of this or that category of worker. It is therefore not a trade union or parasyn-dical structure.
- The propaganda activity of struggle of each individual League will preferably be co-ordinated with that of the other Leagues, while it remains that it is possible also for independent initiatives with local characteristics, but always with the objective of preventing the construction of the base and respecting the common principles.
- Adhesion to the League is the logical conclusion of whoever shares neither the ineffective initiatives of those who are looking for a fictitious counterposition.

### **B) General Principles**

#### **Permanent conflictuality**

- The struggle against the construction of the base will have positive results only on condition that it be constant, uninterrupted and effective. A desultory, sporadic struggle with occasional interventions will end up a losing battle.

#### **Self-management**

The Leagues are self-managed, ie they do not depend on any organization, party, trade union, patronage, etc. They receive no money apart from what comes from spontaneous subscriptions from the adherents to the Leagues themselves. From this autonomy derives their strength. Attack — The Leagues refuse the road of mediation, pacification, sacrifice, accomodation, compromise. They support the need for attack against the boss interests which are realizing this criminal project.

### **C) Methods**

The involvement of the bosses and the American criminals is constant. They take no time off. They mean to realize their project of death within a brief period. Their action spreads against us in a thousand ways: unemployment, increase in prices, intimidation and repression. Tomorrow — should the base be built — this repression will reach the maximum of insupportability and we shall be deprived of even the freedom to think. To constant repression the Leagues reply with

permanent conflictuality.

— All the work categories have an interest in preventing the base. The least wealthy categories but also those who are a little better off: even the shopkeepers who might imagine that they will cash in something extra on the arrival of the Americans must also take into account the mafia extortion rackets which will be organized to their cost in the area. The same goes for the peasants who are threatened by expropriation and have the right to put their land to really productive use. The other methods which the Leagues employ is therefore the widening of the struggle front.

— Counterinformation on the real situation in Comiso is a further method of struggle. Posters, leaflets, newspapers, radio, television, etc, all these instruments must be addressed not only to the inhabitants of the area but also to the whole of Sicily, Italy and the world. Today Comiso and the problem of the base are at the centre of world attention. Through this attention it is possible to defeat the criminals and their servants with our struggle. But the management of information must be autonomous, ie must be against the information racket such as the local daily "La Sicilia" and the pennya-liners in its service.

— To reach the strata which are excluded from having knowledge of the problem: proletarian women, housewives, children, old people. All of them have the right to know the grave danger that is facing them and it is right that they be able to bring their own contribution to the social struggle which is developing against the construction of the base.

— To accept the equivocations of the chatter, putting off time, the promises made by power, means to give the criminals more time realize their project. We must choose the immediate method of intervention and not put off to infinity what should be done right away.

- We should not forget that to be built the Comiso base requires our acceptance, the acceptance of all those who are working on it, those who allow the passage of materials with which it will be built. It is therefore necessary to widen the field of struggle, also to having the workers of these firms participate, because with their strikes and obstacles they will be able first to

delay and secondly eventually prevent the construction of the base.— The method which the Leagues consider final and adequate to really preventing the construction of the base is its occupation. But this occupation must be a conscious decision made by the Leagues and realized with all the means necessary at the opportune moment. We must reply to the foolhardiness and criminality of the American imperialists and their local servants with great responsibility and just as great decision.— Each individual League meets as it thinks fit and the way it desires, with the frequency that it considers necessary and in the place it considers best fitted to its structure. Their initiatives are made known to the other Leagues—if this is considered necessary—through the co-ordinating body which, with this aim, draws up a periodical bulletin, where the decisions of the individual Leagues are published.— Representatives of all the Leagues meet periodically at Comiso for a debate and exchange of views.— The first duty of every League is intervention directed outwards to quantitatively increase its growth.— The League is a mass organization, therefore as such can assume the form of sectorial League, (farm labourers' League, peasants' League, shopkeepers' League, students' League, lorrydrivers' League, teachers' League, etc), or the intersectorial form of league (city League, village League, zone League, inter-zonal League, etc). The choice of the struggle to be conducted is periodically decided by the individual Leagues from general meetings. The most important decisions are made at the meetings of the representatives of the leagues.

#### D) Perspectives

- The Leagues are not corporative organisms. They do not have the perspective of defending the interests of a category, village or social group.— They are mass structures aimed at preventing the base.— Any attempt from within or without to channel the Leagues towards electoral objectives, power, patronage, trade unions, simple resistance, etc, must be prevented.— Developing the various initiatives the Leagues can make their weight felt at the level of mass organisms, imposing the decision not to build the

base on the structures of power.

#### E) *The Co-ordinating Body*

- The coordinating body of the selfmanaged Leagues has premises in Comiso, a technical office which serves as a point of reference for all the Leagues which have been constituted and for those in formation.
- The Co-ordinating body is able to give indications on the complexive situation of struggle, the interests which are developing around it, the bosses' objectives, the firms which have been given contracts, the arrival of the American contingents of occupation, the firms which are working to produce materials for the base, and the presence of the Americans in the area.
- It can also supply the instruments for widening the knowledge in Sicily, Italy and abroad on the situation in Comiso.
- It sees to bringing out a periodical bulletin with the various decisions and the various proposals of the individual Leagues, and on their formation and development.
- Organizes periodical meetings of the representatives of the various Leagues, meetings to be held at Comiso.
- It is worked on a rotation basis by the components of the various Leagues therefore is an organism formed and constituted by the League itself which needs to take charge of the costs relative to its functioning (rent, telephone, propaganda material, cost of survival of those in charge).

#### Conclusion

The self-managed League is an organism of struggle to prevent the construction of the missile base at Comiso. It is based on the principle of autonomy of the struggle and permanent conflictuality. The method it chooses is that of attack against the construction of the base and against the interests of those who are realizing it. The decision to give precise indications of struggle to the Leagues is up to the general meeting of the Leagues' representatives, as well as the establishing of methods and whatever is necessary to prevent the construction of the missile base at Comiso.

## Towards Anarchist Antimilitarism

IN RECENT MONTHS the theme of war has been present in almost every kind of publication, including anarchist ones. War is approaching, is about to break out, the two great international blocks are turning towards war: we must do everything we can to prevent the world being completely annihilated through a mad impulse of our governors.

But as often happens when we take up a problem which sets off a complex reaction of sentiment and fear in our intimate beings, we have not been capable — or so it seems to me — of going into the problem deeply enough.

In fact, when we prepare to fight an enemy who is threatening us we must ask ourselves what that enemy intends to do so that a maximum amount of information allows us to retaliate, defend ourselves, and go to the counter-attack. So, it seems to me, we have not asked ourselves the fundamental question: *what is war?* We have not done so because we all believe, one way or another, that we know perfectly well what war is, therefore are quite capable of doing whatever is necessary to fight those who intend to bring it about.

In reality, though, our ideas are not all that clear. That even the bourgeois press does not have clear ideas on the subject is of little import to us, because it is certainly not from there that we shall find what we need to produce the minimum analysis required to make our actions coherent and meaningful.

Reading most anarchist publications is like reading revised and corrected editions of the progressive bourgeois press, when not some international law review with a few alterations in the language and a little more naivety in outlook.

The vagueness of bourgeois ideas is quite understandable: for the managers of dominion war is the means of guaranteeing its continuation, at least within certain limits. But for those who oppose it, what does war

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mean? For the bosses, war is nothing other than the accentuated use of the means they have always applied. Armies exist, there are bombs, arms too. Wars have continually been in course and are still breaking out here and there according to a geography and logic which corresponds in some way to the rules of capitalism's development and survival. For the bosses there is no great problem to be solved. They *cannot begin to wage war for the simple reason that they have never stopped waging it*. For those who intend to fight against it on the other hand, things are different, in that their struggle is spread through a series of interventions and actions valid in relation to their own understanding of the phenomenon of war.

This in turn is determined by their own class interests, their limited knowledge of social and political phenomenon, ideological interpretation of reality and so on and this in a situation such as the present where one is speaking of the possibility (we do not know how near or how far) of a nuclear war capable of destroying everybody and everything in the space of a few seconds.

In theory everyone should be against war, especially the kind which is now possible as we would all be exposed to the prospect of annihilation. How then can it be explained that not everyone is against war? How can it be explained that governments find supporters and executors of their so-called madness? It can be explained through the very simple and fundamental fact of class division. It is obvious that not everybody is frightened by war, or at least not all in the same way. Clearly many, near themselves to the levers of power and closest to padronal exploitation, if not bosses or holders of power themselves, overcome the fear of war through the prospect of the reinforcement of their own situation of privilege.

Hence the excogitations that these people are producing in their newspapers and programmes cannot fail to reflect the desire to have war considered as something immediate. I am not saying that this is not

possible, but that, on the contrary, we should not accept this conclusion ourselves, but through our analyses demystify the swindles in those supplied by the organs of power.

So we come back to the fundamental question: what is war? The publications currently on the market on the subject, as well as our own pages, often end up as mere hangers on or amplifiers of the propaganda of the regime when they say that war is near. It is then stated that, given that war is imminent, we must do everything we can to prevent it, because anarchists have always been against war and because war is a great calamity which strikes everyone, it does not have victors but only victims, and constitutes a great crime against humanity.

Beautiful and profoundly humanitarian arguments which have only one defect: they do not move the State's programmes of genocide an inch and say nothing new to anyone.

Let us make a hypothesis which corresponds to what has happened in the past and which once infected some of the anarchists of the best intellectual tradition (i.e. Kropotkin and the manifesto of the sixteen). As we have said we are all against war (in words!). Even the most convinced supporters of the virtues of armed solutions to State conflicts *never* have the courage to say so openly, apart from a few delirious maniacs, immediately rebuffed by their more cautious and shrewd collaborators. Those preparing for war are always the most impassioned propagandists of peace. Moreover, they base their peace propaganda on the fact that it is necessary at all costs to do everything possible to save the values of civilization, values which systematically come to be threatened by what is happening in the field of the adversary. (The adversary, in turn, acts and operates in the same way.) We must do everything to prevent war and often people end up convinced that doing everything can even mean going to war in order to avoid a greater catastrophe. At the outbreak of the first "world" war, Kropotkin, Grave, Malato,

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and other illustrious anarchists reached the conclusion that it was necessary to participate in the war in order to defend democracy (in the first place French) under the threat of the central empires (Germany in the first place). This tragic error was possible and always will be possible, because the same mistake was made as is being made today: they did not develop an anarchist analysis, but had faith in an anarchist re-elaboration of the analysis supplied by the intellectuals and divulgators in the service of the bosses. From this it was easy for them to reach the conclusion that, although war was still an immense and terrible tragedy, it was preferable to the more serious damage which could result from the victory of Teutonic militarism. Certainly not all anarchists were blind to the serious deviations of Kropotkin and comrades; Malatesta reacted violently, writing from London, but the damage done caused not inconsiderable consequences in the anarchist movement all over the world.

Today, in the same way, many anarchist comrades do not stop at the impardonable superficialities which can be read in some of our papers and reviews. But let us for a moment go back to the generalizations that abound in our analyses. It is certainly not enough to appeal to universal brotherhood, to humanity, peace, the values of civilization, in order to mobilize the forces that are really disposed to fight the State. Otherwise why, when dealing with problems relative to the social and economic clash in a specific sense (unemployment, housing, schools, hospitals, etc.) do we avoid resorting to such banalities? Now that we are concerning ourselves with war we are suddenly authorized perhaps to let ourselves fall to the level of the generalizations of the radical humanists?

The fact is that we resort to these commonplaces with fear as the common denominator because we do not know what to do or say, nor what in reality—in the present situation of power in Italy, Europe or the world—the phenomenon of war really is.

Panic stricken by our incapacity,

profoundly aware that neither our glorious antimilitarist tradition (with the above exception), or the whole just as glorious baggage of anarchist ideas, can save us, we have recourse to the analytical laboratories of power. And so we transform ourselves into dilettante scholars of international problems. Our journals fill their pages with reflections, comical to say the least, on the relationship between the US and the USSR, between the Nato and the Warsaw pact, between the Middle Eastern countries and Europe; economic problems intersect with military strategies; technical data relative to the A, H, N, bombs find their way into our pages (and heads and have the effect of psychological propaganda. Great confusion results, giving the true measure of how far we are from the reality of the struggle and how much each of our attempts to get closer takes us away from the target. So we become ostentatious. We insist on constructing our analyses with more and more data borrowed from the State produced manuals and we explain to the people with fear as the central point of our argument. We do not realize that in so doing we are becoming functional to that part of the bosses' alignment which plays precisely on fear to obtain two fundamental results: to divert the exploited masses from the increasingly heavy exploitation which awaits them and prepare them, why not, for war. Let us not forget that the best way to push the masses towards acceptance of war is through spreading the fear of war. Tomorrow, with a few adjustments in the regime's propaganda, this fear of total war will easily transform itself into the will and desire to accept a circumscribed war in order to prevent total war, and who knows whether a new Kropotkin will appear (from among the many neo-Kropotkinians who infest our pages) and support the need for the small war in the face of the total one. (After all "small is beautiful").

Of course, we anarchists are against all wars, small or large as they may be, but once we limit ourselves to basing our argu-

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ment exclusively or fundamentally on fear we place ourselves at the extreme left of capital, supplying it with the opening it needs to attenuate the dissense that is automatically produced within the mass of exploited.

Moreover, once we fully develop our critique of total atomic war and show—thus becoming the mouthpieces of the extreme left of capital—how terrible the effects of every type and level of atomic bomb are, and once we add, as a simple corollary, that we are not only against atomic war but against every kind of war between States because all war is genocide, an abominable misdeed, a crime against humanity, and so on with similar commonplaces we become extremely contradictory and damaging. In fact, we supply well-founded, scientific, and concrete elements against atomic war (because these are supplied by capital itself), but limit ourselves to the usual humanitarian commonplaces as far as non-atomic war is concerned, involuntarily pushing the people (who are rightly repelled by humanitarian commonplaces) to predisposing themselves towards a refusal of atomic war and a probable acceptance of the “small war.” And who knows whether it is not precisely this that capital wants of us.

However, because our good faith certainly cannot be doubted, it only remains to go more deeply into the argument and ask ourselves whether we should not develop our antiwar propaganda better.

And here we come back to the initial problem: we do not really know what war is. Because at the moment in which we prepare ourselves to go into the problem we realize that war constitutes but one particular moment in the overall strategy of exploitation put into act by capital.

Let us explain better. For States there exist formal aspects which scan the difference between *state of war* and *state of peace* at the level of international law. It is obvious that this type of differentiation cannot be of any interest to anarchists, who to understand a *real state of war* must certainly not wait for State A, through its diplomacy, to consign

a declaration of war to State B. The task of anarchists is principally that of breaking up, as far as possible and for as long as possible, the formal curtain which States draw in front of the eyes of the people in order to exploit them and lead them to the slaughter. To do that, therefore, we cannot wait for the formalities of international law to be worked out, we must be ahead of the times and denounce the *real situation of war* in act even when no officially declared state of war exists.

To tell the truth, the suspicion that it is not possible to establish a net frontier between war and peace exists among the theoreticians of oppression themselves. In his time Clausewitz himself felt obliged to develop an analysis of war as the *continuation of politics with other means*. In the same way, contemporary scholars (Bouthoul, Aron, Sereni, Fornari, etc) have become aware of the problem and have tried to put together the elements which allow an even minimal differentiation between state of war and state of peace. After the examination of the elements characterized by armed conflict, the mass phenomena and the tension caused by public opinion—elements not specific to a state of war—these scholars have had to conclude that what characterizes war is its *judicial character* and that this judicial character comes to be atypical compared to the judicial structure which normally regulates belligerent States in “times of peace.” In other words war comes to be characterized by the legitimization of murder by a judiciary which in times of “peace” permits neither murder nor massacre.

From this we can clearly see that the criteria that distinguish war from peace are not ones which can be considered valid by anarchists. We are not willing to accept that the *state of war* formally declared by State power is indispensable in order to distinguish, denounce and attack a *real situation of war*. And, on its side, the State well knows that the formal aspect of the “declaration” of war only supplies a simple judicial alibi for a widening of the death process which it normally carries out by the specific character of its very existence.

The State is an instrument of exploitation and death; therefore an instrument of war. To say State is to say war. There do not exist States at war and States at peace. States who want war and States who want peace do not exist. All States, by the simple fact of their existence, are instruments of war. To convince ourselves of this and to overcome the objection of whoever accuses us of maximalism or wants to see a difference at all costs where there is nothing but uniformity, it is enough to remember the obvious fact that it will certainly not be the number of deaths, the means used, the field of combat, or the warriors' aims to mark a difference between *state of war* and *state of peace*. To systematically kill a dozen workers each day at the workplace is a phenomenon of war which as far as we are concerned differs only numerically from the deaths which amass in thousands on the battlefield. Behind this profile it is not possible to single out a *real situation of peace* under the capitalist regime, but only the *fictitious state of peace* which in practice is equal to a *real situation of war*.

We therefore establish that war is a State activity that does not characterize a transitory and circumscribed period of its action but has been the very essence of its structure for as long as we know during the whole course of exploitation. So the social-democratic illusions of unilateral disarmament, respectable pacifism and bourgeois non-violence collapse. Whoever supports pacifist theories and uses them to prevent the State from waging war is substantially a warrior himself, a reactionary who supports the State's continual state of war, preferring it to another state of war which is considered different but which is substantially the same, being in practice no more than an extension of the conflict already in act.

This explains how the parties in government and those who have betrayed the workers' ideals or who nurture the humanitarian whims of the radical bourgeoisie can, with great impudence or through stupid ignorance of reality, make great speeches against war. In practice, theirs are the speeches

which guarantee the constitution of *real war*, preparing the masses for the acceptance of a future (always possible) extension of the small war in order to avoid a larger one which is postponed to infinity while the objective state of conflict is maintained and developed.

These concepts should be – and basically they are – more or less accepted by all anarchists. But, as it seems from many articles published over the past few months in our press, it is too easy when on the subject of war to slip into a dimension which sees it as something which can be avoided or which alone can be considered a form of struggle capable of coalizing the revolutionary forces.

It has been said that suddenly, out of the blue, we have come to find ourselves faced with the danger of world conflict far greater than could have been imagined in the past. It has been said that we must do something right away to prevent the world war that is approaching, against the increase in atomic arms by both the US and the USSR. It has been said that there are moments in the life of a people or a continent where social, economic and political problems come to be superior to far more pressing and superior needs, referring to absolute categories such as survival, frontist opposition and raving homicidal hegemony, etc...

It is all very well to fight against war, militarism, bombs, armies, generals, missile bases. But if the reason is that it is the only level of intervention that the anarchist movement possesses, and that all other interventions are impossible, we must ask ourselves what is happening. It is not enough to throw oneself headlong into the only activity that remains open to us because we have difficulty in other sectors. We should ask ourselves whether the acceptance of the theme of war and the inability to place this theme within the specific logic of the State is not perhaps a consequence of our incapacity to address ourselves towards the real struggles in act? And whether in burying our heads in the sands of our weakness and facing the problem of the struggle against war without

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a minimum of militant structure, we are not running the risk of becoming the fanciful carriers of a maximalist ideology which ends up being convenient to the State?

These questions may not be shared by many comrades, but they remain before us as so many points which require going into and discussing. It is not enough to deny them and shrug our shoulders and carry on.

In our opinion it is necessary to go into the general conditions of the class conflict today and reexamine the function which anarchists can develop within the conflict itself, either as a specific movement or as an organizational force capable of expressing itself within the general movement of the exploited. It is urgent that we single out our weaknesses immediately and without half measures, without the persistence of our old paranoias, the stagnant ideologizing which pollutes many sectors of our movement, the social democratic infiltration, respectability, hesitation in the face of action, the craze of *a priori* judgements and ecclesiastical closure, the aristocratic residual which made us consider ourselves the monotonous carriers of truth.

To analyze to the extreme consequences our effective possibility of struggle does not at all mean to take a distance from the problem of war, and we shall be able to give a far more precise and meaningful response, a far more detailed indication and project of intervention, than what is happening at the present time which sees us only as suppliers of rehashed theories of the bourgeoisie and vulgar distributors of a huminatarian maximalism which can be shared by all and precisely for this reason no one is disposed to supporting.

Moreover, in addressing our efforts towards the reorganization of the movement and the realization of what is necessary to overcome this reflux, we shall avoid limiting our discourse simply to that of fear of war, which by its vagueness and generality constantly runs the risk of falling into interclassism.

We should not forget that our evaluations of a problem—and war is no exception—often depend on the objective conditions in which we find ourselves personally and of the conditions of the movement in general.

## Torture in Italy

THE ITALIAN STATE, like all the other advanced capitalist States planning the road to total control behind a facade of “democracy” has over the past years encountered wide strata of active dissent from its project. This led to an acceleration and rationalization of its war techniques against the rebelling classes: special prisons; judicial innovations such as those rendering possible 12 years’ remand prison while on charges related to armed struggle; construction of “repentant” militants of the armed parties.

Party to this plan and in many cases leading the show have been the Communist Party and trade union, totally abandoning even a shadow of their past claimed roles as organs of class struggle, their voices raised above all others in the democratic choir screeching out against “terrorism” and inciting workers to spy on and denounce each other in the work place. These contenders for a prime place in the new smooth democratic fascism of the future have once again donned their chameleon’s clothing now that they find their hands soiled with the blood of the institutionalized torture of arrested revolutionaries and sympathizers. Their pages are soaked with crocodile tears, crying out scandalized against the use of techniques worthy of the Inquisition and the most retrograde South American dictatorships. Much of the bourgeois press in Italy and elsewhere have also taken given space to this barbaric deviation from “civilisation.”

It is not in this vein of “democratic indignation” that we present the following reports. The use of violence and torture by the State’s repressive forces is nothing new, as

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well the proletarians, the young emarginated "questioned" for theft, robbery and other manifestations of their nonintegration, or simply because they are black, or Irish or gypsies, etc. Nor is it a prerogative of the Italian State as the number of deaths of proletarians in police custody in Britain show. This kind of treatment is so frequent that it comes to be considered normal by many who undergo it systematically.

When the State extends such fascist methods to comrades of the revolutionary movement as it has done in Italy since the Dozier kidnapping, it does it as a calculated move and a sign of a change in the balance of strength in the face of the revolutionary movement. The investments in special prisons and repressive technology; the early morning raids; the "blitz" operations and mass arrests have come near to attaining the aims of the State offensive: of eliminating all real dissent and isolating the revolutionary movement, no longer able to respond correctly to violation of its militants.

This weakening and disgregation however would have been impossible to realize if left to the repressive organs of the State alone. One of the prime causes, and one could say the deepest and most far reaching one has been the lacerations within the movement itself: the accusations, the suspicion, the denouncing of all extra-legal by those who, seeing their armchairs threatened, substantially became collaborators of the State hangmen.

The struggle against torture is therefore to be carried forward at all levels. Certainly we must denounce the State inquisitors with strong voice and respond fittingly to their misdeeds. This however does not go to the roots of torture which can only be reached through deepening the revolutionary struggle and obtusely continuing to clarify the means for doing so.

## Torture and Silence

Even if torture is no longer being talked about in Italy it continues to be the order of the day in police stations and prisons.

The respectability of the so-called left has put its mind at rest since the scandal of police officers arrested for torturing revolutionary comrades. The parliamentary interrogations and newspaper articles are over, everything has returned to normal. But the normality of the State is based precisely on the use of torture in the silence and indifference of all.

The comrades in prison who intend to maintain their revolutionary identity are made to undergo special norms of isolation provided for by article 90 which is psychological torture of the worst kind: no exercise period, no letters, no personal objects, reduced food. The road towards the French penal colonies is now open, ancient Cayenne relives among us in a modernized version.

Proletarians who fall into the hands of the police are systematically beaten up. This method, typical of fascism, in the deranged fantasy of our police posses a pedagogic value: whoever undergoes it, even if innocent, remembers it and therefore remains on their best behaviour in future. This Inquisition mentality is practically ineliminable within the police, no matter how much chatter goes on about their democratisation.

To keep silent means to open the way towards an increased use of torture. Today salt water (mixed with sand and castor oil) is forced down revolutionary comrades and proletarians arrested arms in hand. Tomorrow similar treatment could be applied even for handing out a leaflet, printing a newspaper, coming out on strike.

To keep silent means to give space to a wide range of "white" torture. The doctor who killed Serantini in prison by denying him medical attention was a torturer in the same way as the policeman who beat up our same comrade on the banks of the Amo.

Torturers are all those (magistrates, police, prison guards, journalists, doctors, lawyers, etc) who use methods of pressure (physical, psychic, direct, and indirect) to obtain a modification in behaviour from a prisoner. At the present stage of the class conflict there still exist precise legal norms which limit

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detention to the privation of freedom and do not prescribe or make possible recourse to additional means with the aim of making prisoners act against their will.

This concept is important and is not based on simple guarantees, but comes from the essential point of freedom of movement which we still possess and which we should use.

We must denounce all the behaviour of authority—and in the first place that of the police—which reduces this freedom of movement.

This struggle is not only directed towards prisoners' defence, but assumes a wider meaning: to defend all those who find themselves facing a situation of exploitation in the workplace, the housing estates, at school. Torture, therefore, also becomes precarious work, unemployment, life in the ghettos and poverty, lack of hygiene, lack of roads, water, means of transport at low cost, culture, free books, etc.

In struggling against the police torturers we are beginning a battle which can only conclude with the generalized struggle against all forms of exploitation which are, in practice, so many different ways of torturing the proletarians and exploited.

## Systematic Torture

The problem of the silence surrounding the torture which is systematically applied to arrested proletarians is undoubtedly more serious and far wider than the turn to differentiated treatment enacted against the comrades accused of terrorism. It is a more serious problem because it does not reach higher levels of information and comes to be considered normal procedure by the so-called public conscience. Moreover, the arrested proletarians themselves consider the treatment they undergo normal and do everything possible to reduce the period of "treatment" and damage to a minimum.

The first golden rule for them is never to declare that they have been tortured, especially to the judge, because in any case

no good becomes of it and future doses of beatings increase. Second rule: when one is caught and taken to the police station, try with every possible means to throw oneself on to a piece of glass or cut the face with any object that comes to hand whatsoever to give oneself obvious wounds and so oblige the inquisitors to take them to hospital immediately. Third rule: pretend to collaborate, come to an agreement, etc. It is a code of survival which ends up entering the same logic of inquisitor and arrested, a code of violence and tyranny.

It is not easy to defeat this mentality. The very attention that is turned towards the tortured comrades and great discussions about it does nothing other than dig an even deeper furrow of differentiation. It is necessary to do everything to document and denounce the systematic torture concerning proletarians in custody to recompose a field of struggle which risks being compromised. It is possible to intervene in the proletarian quarters, the people who listen to us know perfectly well what we are talking about and it is a way to carry the problem of prison outside into everyday problems.

In this way it is also possible to talk of the phenomenon of torture without that air of astonishment and indignation which is quite out of place. The State uses torture "as a rule" and not as "exception."

It must therefore be unmasked in its everyday actuation and not in the particular of a moment of tension. In this way the hypocritical mask of all those respectables who are ready to put a hand in cold water when it is a question of political prisoners, but do not want to do anything for the proletarian prisoners tortured daily can be made to fall.

## Repentance and Torture

THE SPECIAL law regarding "repentant" ex militants of various armed organizations is typical of the agreements between different power structures which are normal for the State and its executive organs.

This law and the by no means marginal acceptation of it among the members of some

of the armed organizations indicates the failure of something. Not of "armed struggle" which, as a method, can neither fail nor be successful, but of some political projects which took it up as privileged vehicle of intervention in the class conflict.

The government and parliament have deliberately reduced legislative norms to allow a kind of negotiated solution to a problem which on a strictly military level could have gone on too long and remain significant even over the next few years when a growth in generalized conflictuality is expected due to the worsening of the crisis, the difficulties in restructuring, dislevels in production, etc.

The various points, the "reduced sentences," "non-punishability," "release from prison by government initiative" for the super-collaborators, freedom while awaiting trial for those who give themselves up "spontaneously," etc have two different perspectives: on the one side the informers, ie those who actively participate in the accusation and massacre of their own ex comrades of struggle and who thus put themselves in the service of the torturers, police, magistrates, the most abject worms in the zoological scale, and on the other hand those who "call themselves out," ie who declare the failure of their own political activity and want to go backwards, thus throwing a shadow of blame on to the comrades who do not intend to "reverse" and so they also indirectly turn out to be spies.

Within this repartition there exist various shades and subtleties of secondary importance: what counts is that all of them, in one way or another, to a greater or lesser extent, are responsible for the torture, the executions, the sentences and intimidations which the comrades undergo in prison, and which all the other comrades are obliged to face when they actively involve themselves in the class conflict.

Each one chooses their own road. The future will not fail to present these worms with the account for their misdeeds,

demanding the balance. For the moment a maximal consideration can be made. The participation of all these people (for some time inappropriately referred to as comrades) in the class conflict has been impulsive and incomplete, based on romantic or banditesque illusions, absolutely unsuitable to be the basis of the revolutionary problem. Their very "recruiting" was a mad acritical phenomenon, a kind of mad race towards the quantitative, without taking into account the growth of individual and collective consciousness. This is the price for the illusions of the revolutionary party, from that of mediator between leading minority and proletariat, and minority carrier of the revolutionary memory.

It is necessary to be deeply aware of this problem in future, and above all of the fact that no technical or organizational efficiency can ever take the place of the progressive and harmonious development of the consciousness of the revolutionary subject.

## Document Azione Rivoluzionaria

*The following documents drawn up by the ex-armed organization Azione Rivoluzionaria begin from 1976. Most of them are born from the need to claim responsibility for the various actions carried out against men and organisms of power, which although they had a function of clarification in the immediate sense, directed to the public at large, also contain very interesting revolutionary analyses. The class analyses, the function of the armed organization, the objectives, the relationship with work at mass level are all elements which show the difference between Azione Rivoluzionaria and the other Italian armed organizations., although important contradictions with the general principles of anarchism and the autonomous practice of struggle which was also taking place over these years emerge.*

*For reasons of space we have omitted the two long theoretical documents, to be published in*

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*some future issue along with parts of the debate that they created in the anarchist movement in Italy.*

#### BOMBING OF PAOLINE EDITIONS MAIN OFFICES

With the attack on the main offices of Paoline Editions, representatives of the cultural wing of the Vatican linked to the CIA and the American multinationals, the revolutionary feminist and proletarian forces have struck one of the centres of their millenarian oppression.

The generalized attack against the proletariat by the capitalist forces has also expressed itself through a return to ultraiepiessive moralism propagated in the texts published by Paoline Editions.

As well as the successful parliamentary clerical-fascist manoeuvre of confirming abortion as a crime and thereby incrementing clandestine abortions with which the barons of bourgeois and anti-feminist medicine are making a real affair at the cost of thousands and thousands of women, the feminist revolutionary forces are replying with the propaganda and support of armed struggle for their liberation.

COMMUNIQUE OF THE A.R.A.F. (Azione Rivoluzionaria Autonomia Femminista)  
Free abortion is a political objective which the female popular masses have inserted in the ambit of a far wider revolutionary aim: the liberation of the popular masses.

The condition of total subordination women are subjected to is a fruit of a society in which essential structural values are power and profit in the fullest sense of the term. Sexist discrimination is racial and classist discrimination and this in turn acts on the popular masses in a comprehensive and total way. Women, blacks, prostitutes, homosexuals, proletarians/and prisoners are our political allies.

The parliamentary norm which regulates abortion is a squalid spectacle by the boss and social-reformist clique who act through

the legalitarian parties.

The DC-PSI-MSI (Christian Democrats, Socialists, Fascists) alliance should be seen in this optic, aimed at denying the political, psychological and physical selfdetermination of women. The depersonalisation operated by the profit system and power structures have now reached nazi level: women, the popular masses, have been robbed of the ultimate, inalienable property: their bodies.

#### TO THE ATTACK, FOR THE GROWTH OF FEMINIST AUTONOMY

*3 February 1977, La Spezia, around 22.50 a bomb explodes in a Luisa Spagnoli dress shop in Piazza Cavour.*

#### COMMUNIQUE RELATIVE TO THE ACTION IN LA SPEZIA

"We have closed a den which rakes in its profits from the sweat of the imprisoned proletariat."

#### COMRADES NEVER FORGET!

*5 May 1972 - 31 March 1977*

Five years ago in Pisa anarchist comrade Franco Serantini was murdered. It was the first result of the elections in course in the country and the confirmation that the Christian Democrat regime had decided to maintain power and defend the interests of the bosses, shooting whoever intended to oppose them. Since the deaths of Avola and Battipaglia in 1969, there has been a whole succession of assassinations and State massacres in response to the workers' need for communism and freedom. In the past seven years a great revolutionary potential has been born, which, starting from real needs, is tired of compromise and has accused not only the bosses and the State but also the traditional Left which in its deeds has shown itself to be a mediator of class conflict functional to the survival and growth of the capitalist system. The comrades have understood that antifascism is carried out in the streets and not in the anniversary parades; that the class struggle cannot be exercised in negotiations between bosses and legal structures such as the Factory Council, but in the department meetings; that what counts is not political

transformism but economic revolutions; that popular justice cannot and never will be able to express and exercise itself through codes and tribunals but with direct action; that the State and the bosses defend their class interests with arms in hand and therefore it is necessary to give oneself similar structures and impose our revolutionary programme; that the most coherent way to celebrate the dead of May 1, 1887, like May 5, 1972, would be that of making those responsible pay, transforming a day of mourning and whimpering into a day of celebration, one of authentic revolutionary joy. This May 5, 1977 will remain a fundamental date for the revolutionary movement, because its vanguard has been able to give a precise indication of struggle.

The action carried out by the comrades who struck Mammoli is not an episode of stupid revenge as some journalists have tried to make out, but is full of political significance. Mammoli could have saved Franco after the police beating and did not do so based on a cynical political calculation, a precise class choice, reconfirming once again in this case his behaviour on many other occasions towards imprisoned comrades (in the prisons there was great rejoicing when the news that he had been struck reached them). Mammoli is not only the doctor who through negligence left Franco agonizing for 32 hours while drop after drop Ms blood filled his cranial cavities until it crushed his brain; Mammoli is a symbol, an institution, a link in the prison system and his behaviour "does not differ from that of other doctors in Italian prisons" who file away the death of a comrade with a few words.....

*May 5, 1972 -8 pm*

PISA - Franco Serantini, born in Cagliari July 16, 1951, is lynched by 10 police officers under orders of Captain Albini. He is arrested by Commissaire Pironomonte and Captain Albini and taken to Don Bosco prison.

*May 6, 1972 - 12.30pm*

Serantini interrogated in prison by sub procurator Sellaroli.

*May 6, 1972 -16.30*

Prison doctor Alberto Mammoli examines Serantini and writes: "Bruising right eyebrow; numerous contusions partly abraded on the back, arms and lower legs; state of shock; Sympatol-Cortigen ice bag permanently in situ."

*May 7, 1972 -9.45*

After 32 hours of agony, of atrocious suffering, anarchist comrade Franco Serantini dies. The certificate written by Dr Alberto Mammoli speaks of a "cerebral haemorrhage." An attempt is made to make his body disappear in fret and fury.

*May 7, 1972 -16.30*

Director of Don Bosco prison sends an employee with death certificate to the Town Hall to ask for permission to have Franco buried. The employee on duty refuses to sign the authorization. At 17.30 the prison direction solicits authorisation.

*May 12, 1972*

The "Governor of Toscana" General Procurator of the Republic Mario Calamari advocates the judicial inquest to himself and magistrate Sellaroli takes care to formalize the trial to prevent the transfer of the inquest to Florence.

*June 12, 1972*

Instructing judge of 'Democratic Judiciary', Paolo Funaioli deposits the sentence which follows his investigations. There are dozens of parliamentary interpellations and interrogation. Someone sues. The newspaper articles and Left reviews are the democratic cover of the system.

*October 5, 1972*

The instructing judge Paolo Funaioli, downgraded at Calamari for his inquest which could lead to fixing responsibility on the prison doctor, Dr Mammoli, and Captain of the P.S. Albini, is transferred from the penal to the civil law tribunal.

*October 25, 1972*

The medical-legal report is deposited while the conflict continues between Calamari and the Pisa judges.

*November 30, 1972*

Dr Alberto Mammoli, Pisa prison doctor, is sent to trial for culpable homicide. In the meantime the Commissaire Pironomonte resigns from the police because he has become disgusted by his work as hangman, but he does not supply the names of the police who massacred Franco.

*May 2, 1973*

The High Court Council turns down Calamari's proposal and confirms judge Funaioli in his post.

*May 21, 1973*

The General Prosecutor asks instructing judge Funaioli to acquit the pigs "for having remained unknown" and Dr Mammoli because "the deed does not constitute a crime."

*September 14, 1973*

After a whole series of conflicts between Calamari and Funaioli, the judge asks for Captain Albini to be tried for "giving false evidence" and other officers concealing the names of Franco's slaughterers.

*January 1, 1974*

Judge Funaioli "spontaneously" asks to resign. Judge Angelo Nicastro takes his place.

*April 23, 1975*

Judge Angelo Nicastro concords with Calamari in deciding not to continue proceedings against Dr Mammoli "for not having committed the deed" and limits himself to sending Captain Albini and the police guard Colantoni to trial for false witnessing.

*October 1, 1975*

The magistrates' court sentences the two pigs to six months' suspended sentence.

*February 1977*

Appeal trial of Captain Albini and the guard Colantoni where they are acquitted.

*March 31, 1977, 8am*

After the sentence of bourgeois justice, the proletarian one has arrived. Justice has taken its course. "The Serantini case seemed to be closed", writes *Paese Sera*. Text claiming the revolutionary action Justice for Franco Serantini

*Franco Serantini was lynched by police in 1972 and left in agony to the death by Dr Mammoli*

*because he was guilty of anti-fascism. Mammoli has not been eliminated because others are just as guilty as he is, but he is politically, humanly and professionally co-responsible for the assassination of the anarchist Franco Serantini. This behaviour does not differ from that of other doctors in Italian prisons.*

*April 30 1977, at 5.15 am, two explosions take place in Milan, one at the employment office, the other at the Opel car showroom of the multinational General Motors.*

COMMUNIQUE RELATIVE TO ACTIONS IN MILAN

During the night groups of comrades have more or less symbolically struck a series of objectives which represent "clean work": above all the employment office, certainly a marginal instrument in the market of capitalist work, but which symbolizes the bosses' and reformists' will to employ us in any way whatsoever in the field of exploitation. At the Milan Opel we wanted to strike a part of that monstrous coagulation of German capital which tortures and destroys our comrades in West Germany.

*May 1, 1977, 5.5 am, three bombs explode in Turin, one at the SIP telephone centre, one at the employment office in via Gioberti, one at the Michelin in via Livorno.*

COMMUNIQUE RE TURIN ACTIONS

"We are the *Azione Rivoluzionaria* groups for the abolition of salaried work."

*July 17, 1977, Florence and Livorno*

COMMUNIQUE RE ATTACKS AGAINST CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW PRISONS IN FLORENCE AND LIVORNO

Today, July 17, 1977, the construction of the new "model prisons" have been struck and sabotaged. True concentration camps (tombs for the living where prisoners are completely annihilated), struck contemporaneously in Florence and Livorno, cities where the technical-operative action was possible.

The precise intent was to single out, denounce and combat the criminal project of capitalist restructuring which resolves class antagonism through the annihilation of

proletarians, revolutionaries and opposers to its homicidal plans. The comrades reaffirm the unity of the class movement in solidarity and resistance with the proletariat who have been round up by capital and the State.

Freedom for the comrade prisoners.

August 2, 1977, IPCA, Grie.

#### ATTACK AGAINST THE IPCA OF CIRIÈ, THE "CANCER FACTORY"

Here Azione Rivoluzionaria, we are claiming the night bombing of the headquarters of the IPCA in Ciriè.

September 18, 1977, Turin

#### COMMUNIQUE RELATIVE TO THE ATTACK AGAINST "LA STAMPA" OF TURIN AND THE JOURNALIST OF L'UNITÀ FERRERO

Between 17 and 18 September 1977, the armed nucleus of AR "Rico and Attilio" struck the headquarters of *La Stampa* in Turin and the journalist of *L'Unità*, Nino Ferrero. A bomb intended to cause great damage to the structure without injuring the people there was left at the headquarters; the journalist of *L'Unità* was kneecapped. With these two armed interventions Azione Rivoluzionaria meant to sanction precise personal and collective responsibility concerning the management of the news relative to the deaths of our comrades Aldo Marin Pinones "Rico" and Attilio Di Napoli, fallen while they in turn were preparing to strike the headquarters of the Fiat newspaper in the framework of a complexive action, unfortunately tragically interrupted.

In unison, police and factory council shriek out against this "attack on the freedom of the press" once again pulling a veil over the reality of things: we did not intend to strike the freedom of the press and communications, but the shameless campaign of lies and calumny carried on by the pennyaliners of the regime towards the growing movement of proletarian opposition, conscious that to the "arms of criticism" the time has come to substitute them with the "criticism of arms."

With this armed intervention we meant to and intend to establish with force the truth

about our comrades "Rico" and Attilio... "Rico" was a fighter for freedom and communism in his country of origin: Chile. He fought with all his might against Pinochet's regime, paying in first person. Outside his country he took up arms once again, knowing that the proletarian class struggle does not know national boundaries. Rico fought in other South American countries, in Italy against the Christian Democrat regime and the historic compromise—to cite only a few of his actions: the destruction of the new prisons in Florence and Livorno and the explosion against the IPCA of Ciriè. Attilio was a very generous comrade, very young, capable of choosing and deciding in the midst of a corrupt and mendacious world, conscious of having to overcome the dichotomy between thought and action, ready for anything with the sure instinct of young proletarians convinced that they have nothing to lose but everything to gain. Attilio participated in various actions distinguishing himself for his courage and revolutionary knowledge. "Rico" and Attilio fell due to a technical error...

"Rico" and Attilio live in the memory of all revolutionaries. Other hands will take up the arms fallen from them in battle. Their slanderers appear for what they are: vile dogs in the pay of the security services.

BUILD THE MOVEMENT OF ARMED STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNISM AND FREEDOM

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION AGAINST THE BERLINGOTTIAN GOVERNMENT

DESTROY THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS OF PROLETARIAN ANNIHILATION

LONG LIVE COMBATANT CHILE. LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM.

HONOUR TO THE COMRADES FALLEN IN STRUGGLE. LET US FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF MARA, LUCA, SERGIO, ANNAMARIA, ANTONIO, DI RICO, ATTILIO.

September 21, 1977

#### BOMB AT TURIN SPORTS CENTRE

The bomb at Ruffini park was placed by us of Azione Rivoluzionaria to strike the anti-communist congress of tomorrow. Moreover, tell the "Unità" journalist to remember what he wrote about the Chilean comrade and he'll

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understand why we shot him.

September 28, 1977

LEAFLET RELATIVE TO AN ACTION CARRIED OUT IN MILAN

At 5 o'clock on September 28 a nucleus of Azione Rivoluzionaria partially interrupted the urban transport and distributed a leaflet signed "the Industrial Confederation." We wanted to draw the workers' attention to the problem of torture and special prisons. Comrades will excuse us for having donned, but only for a moment, the foul clothing of the confederal secretaryship. The very thought that the trade union and party apparatus are sensitive to the problem of torture and the concentration camps is a serious and naive sin. If sometimes they have acted in these terms in the past, they have done it only instrumentally; once they are associated with power they soon exhaust their democratic characteristics to reveal the bloody face of power. Tomorrow they will not hesitate to shoot the workers, as they do today to the emarginated, killed like birds in the streets of Italy and as they do against the revolutionary comrades.

Comrades, let us take our indications from the comrades imprisoned in the Asmara. They write: "In the whole metropolitan area the anti-imperialist combatant prisoner is considered a hostage in the hands of the State which is tending to develop a double action in his regard: on the one hand treatment oriented towards the progressive destruction of his will, personality and political identity through isolation. On the other the propagandists use of this as "deterrent" towards the revolutionary movement and proletarian forces. To this "treatment of war" the revolutionajy movement engaged over the whole metropolitan areas in replying with "actions of war."

Comrades, let us reply to the State's attempt to annihilate us with just as many annihilation measures. The supporters of the hard line cannot believe that they can hide behind the shadow of General Della Chiesa, nor can the supporters of the soft line hide

behind "the need for a political framework." They will all fall, swept away by the ruins of the concentration camps.

*False leaflet of the Trade Union Confederation*

REGIONAL DAY OF STRUGGLE PROCLAIMED BY THE CGIL, CISL, UIL FEDERATIONS AGAINST TORTURE, SPECIAL PRISONS AND THE REACTIONARY INVOLUTION THAT IS BEING IMPOSED UPON THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT WORKERS,

The sectetaryship of the CGIL/CISL/UIL Federation is calling you to a day of struggle against the reactionary involution in this country.

We take the words of Pierre Carniti, "We are in the presence of an involution that is going towards strangling democracy and political debate, and making the State omnipotent..."

The Confederal Secretaryship cannot fail to denounce the dangers inherent in this process which has in fact lead to the legalisation of torture against dissidents in Italy. The events of Puteano, Alcamo, Rome, among others, show how torture is becoming normal praxis against dissidents.

Moreover, the unions cannot ignore what is going on inside the prisons. They cannot accept the distinction, Byzantine to say the least, between advanced punitive prisons and concentration camps such as the Asinara. In fact, when a prisoner is held in a cell for 22 hours out of 24 and the two hours' recreation are spent in a cubicle covered by a metal net Vietnamese style, does he find himself in a special or a punitive prison? If every protest is punished with beatings right to the limits of survival, what should we think? Perhaps we should wait for a chain of "suicides" as in Stammheim before we begin to talk about special prisons? In Italy we already have the experience of the Aversa asylum...

To continue to remain silent on this subject would mean to give our own endorsement to this reactionary involution whose supporters are unfortunately present within the Trade Union movement.

In fact, to continue to deny the existence of political prisoners in Italy, as has been done by certain trade union leaders, means to support this process of liberticide, as well as to deny the evidence which is before us; if political prisoners do not exist, what sense is there therefore in a law which discriminates between common law and other prisoners and asks for special treatment for them?

Through continuing to deny the evidence we shall find ourselves part of a process which will destroy not only freedom but truth.  
COMRADE WORKERS, WE ARE ASKING YOU FOR A DAY OF STRUGGLE FOR THE ABOLITION OF TORTURE, SPECIAL PRISONS, TO CHECK THAT REACTIONARY TURN THAT WANTS A SUBJECTED TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, INERT AS WELL AS BLIND AND OBTUSE.  
LET US UNMASK THE REACTIONARIES WHO ARE NESTING WITHIN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND WHO WANT ITS DEATH!  
LET US ISOLATE THE STRANGLERS OF DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL DEBATE!  
LET US RENDER THE SPIES OF THE NEW STATE HARMLESS!

The Milan Secretaryship of the CGIL-CISL-UIL Federation

*Conference against repression, Bologna, September 23-25, 1977*

DOCUMENT TO COMRADES OF THE MOVEMENT

We revolutionary militants of the combatant organization *Azione Rivoluzionaria* are addressing ourselves to all the comrades participating in the Bologna conference on Repression to point out a few things concerning the recent actions which we carried out in Turin, actions which have been meanly instrumentalized by the bourgeois press and hangers on.

The first thing to clarify is *Lotta Continua's* function as informer, a paper which finds itself in the hands of a few profiteers of the revolutionary good faith of a number of comrades who still believe in the function of their paper. The accusations this rag has made against us are enough in themselves to qualify the whole conservative politics which the managing group of *Lotta Continua* intend to

carry out over our comrades' heads, paying no attention to the indications of struggle which are coming from the movement. Having called us "fascist" because we have given a lesson he deserved to a CP servant and because we have bombed the largest newspaper of the industrial bosses, can no longer leave room for any doubts on the direction which *Lotta Continua* intend to give to the movement.

The second element which we want to point out is that we combatant militants of *Azione Rivoluzionaria* are here together with you participating in the conference against repression, because we do not consider ourselves a "military party" eradicated from the real struggle of the mass and communitarian moments of clarification. That is why we reject every attempt—no matter where it comes from—to make us pass for another version of the combatant parties which in fact are acting today in the reality of the Italian and international revolutionary movement.

Our aim is to realize a combatant structure which is as open as possible towards the base, one which allows for the massive participation of the exploited, emarginated, the non-guaranteed and all those who want to attack the boss class and their servants without a military party filtering this base and taking over the direction of the struggles.

This is our concept of armed struggle. Simple and not demagogic. Today armed struggle is not only a project but a reality, a reality that no servant of the CP or *Lotta Continua* can ever mystify.

We have attacked the CP, against whom so many revolutionaries have reversed burning criticism in words, calling them one of the main sources of reaction. This can only seem in appearances to be a bold step forward. In fact we have done nothing more than realize what many comrades theorize.

Future struggles will always be directed towards clarifying both the role of the reaction and the so-called parties of the left, and the no less reactionary role of whoever, disguising themselves as revolutionaries, intends to put

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a brake on the self-organization of the armed struggle of the exploited.

*January 1978 – First theoretical document published*

*February 24 1978 a bomb explodes during the night in corso Garibaldi 88, Milan, the administrative offices of Corriere della Sera*

THE BUNKER OF FREEDOM

The *Corriere della Sera* is equipping itself to face the new run of Italian freedom.

Freedom, the various directors which for some time have been alternating at the helm of this prestigious truth machine will say, is such a precious and rare value that it is worth protecting, even inside in bunker.

Obscure pennyaliners of the *Corriere*, insensitive to any change in ownership or management (but not salary), Custer will send you to the slaughter. Don't believe you are secure in your bunker, many other fortresses have had to give in to truth and this has never disdained to use dynamite...

*Leaflet handed out in Carrara, at the Third International Anarchist Congress of the Anarchist Federations, held 23-26 March 1978.*

*6 April 1978, Rome*

Here Azione Rivoluzionaria claiming the bombing of the *Banco di Roma* headquarters in via Cemaia, the Ferrari dealer in via Pinciana and the car showroom in via Palmiro Togliatti. *Bombing of Christian Democrat premises in Aosta* During the night between the 18th and 19th June we struck the headquarters of the Christian Democrats of Aosta. This, as a warning, until they revoke the permission granted to the MSI to continue to speak in the squares of Aosta; because the DC is a symbol of speculation, exploitation, of which the Leone case is but an example. The DC wants us to come out into the streets to make us fight with the fascists and be massacred by the police. We will not allow other comrades to be killed in the streets and so we are using these arms against the fascists and those who allow them to talk. This action is the demonstration of our strength and intention.

It is only the beginning.

LET US CREATE 10, 100, 1,000 ARMED NUCLEI

*July 23, 1978, Turin*

*Bombing of IBM – Azione Rivoluzionaria,* nucleus of direct attack Rico and Attilio has struck the I.B.M. multinational

*July 29, 1978*

*Gazzetta del Popolo*, editorial offices bombed We have struck the headquarters of the *Gazzetta del Popolo* to remind all the regime's pennyaliners[?] that hundreds of revolutionary comrades are dying in the Italian prison-concentration camps. This action is in memory of all the comrades killed during actions against the State.

Create ten, a hundred, a thousand armed nuclei.



Issue 1  
April 1984

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*Insurrection*, a new anarchist paper. It will contain theoretical articles, articles on current events, a chronicle of struggle, and will denounce repression in all its forms. Nothing unusual so far. New anarchist papers appear frequently, full of hopes, but die after a few issues quite divorced from reality.

*Insurrection* is born with no great hopes. We are not hoping the paper will sell a given number of copies each month just so that it can keep coming out. We don't want comrades to dutifully send us fifty pence a month to put their conscience at rest, deluding themselves that they are thus doing something for the social revolution.

If after a few issues we realise this is how people react to "insurrection" we shall stop producing it. There are already too many anarchist papers endlessly repeating themselves in defence of a banner or symbol and offering no real contribution to the struggle.

*Insurrection* intends to be an instrument, not just another piece in a never completed jigsaw puzzle. But we cannot do this alone, a handful of comrades. To be a real instrument an anarchist paper must provide not only 'information' but also 'indications'. The daily press is full of information of a certain kind, but only one indication – keep quiet and do nothing – thus giving the state the consensus it requires.

An anarchist paper should give both theoretical and practical indications of struggle. There is no essential difference between the two. They often merge, theory becoming the indispensable premise of action, action becoming theoretical analysis.

An example – a wildcat strike, a mass sacking, a factory occupation, a riot, a struggle in one of the ghettos or in a school. In such situations comrades often don't know how to intervene with immediate and effective propaganda. They could contact the paper's editorial group and together publish an article. By distributing copies on the spot it would be possible to begin or deepen the contact with the struggle itself.

If this method is used in different situations the paper will become an instrument, not just a literary exercise for a small group of people.

The nature of this work will not emerge clearly from the first issue, but comrades should bear it in mind both in their collaboration with the paper and in the use of the copies they request.

## The Logic of Insurrection

When we hear the word insurrection we think of some precise moment of upheaval in the past, or imagine a similar clash in the future. Spontaneous insurrection occurs when people are pushed beyond their limits of endurance at their points of exploitation. Certain events take place: street clashes, attacks against the police, destruction of the symbols of capitalism (banks, jewellers, supermarkets, etc). Such moments of popular violence catch anarchists unprepared, amazed that yesterday's apathy is transformed into today's rage.

Look at Brixton a couple of years ago: anarchists were not, could not have been, protagonists in the riot. Events took them by surprise. People rose up for reasons apparently simple, but which were hatching beneath the surface for a long time. Anarchists' participation was simply that of adapting to the situation, the *guests* of an insurrection but not acting with an insurrectional logic. To throw a brick is not the best way for a conscious revolutionary to participate in an insurrection.

When we talk of applying a logic of insurrection we mean going about things the other way round. We do not limit ourselves to identifying areas of social tension and joining in when it explodes, we try to stimulate rebellion and even more, propose and participate in the formation of an organisation of revolt.

Let's try to be as clear as possible. The kind of organisation we mean should be of an associative, social or mass character – a committee, support group, league against repression, association

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for housing rights, anti-nuclear groups, abstentionist league against the elections, etc—not a specific anarchist group. Why should people have to belong to an anarchist group to take part in a social struggle?

People's participation in this kind of structure can be limitless, depending on the work the anarchists manage to do within it. Beginning with a handful of comrades and people most motivated in a particular struggle, whether it be a wildcat strike, mass sackings, a proposed NATO base, squatting, etc, it would entail initially spreading information about the situation set out as dearly clearly and directly as possible. Leaflets, journals, posters, debates, conferences, public meetings and so on would be used and the embrion of one of the groups mentioned above formed. When there is some response to this part of the work it is time to establish a meeting place and contact number. The organisation's actions will become more effective as the struggle progresses, numbers increase and repression develops against it.

The outcome will not be certain. The active presence of anarchists does not mean control but rather stimulation. They have the same rights as the others and no particular weight in decision making. Their suggestions will be considered valid if they are both in tune with the general level of feeling and at the same time try to push it forward.

Timid or hesitant proposals would be rejected as obstacles to advancing the struggle and as betraying their needs and rebellion.

A proposal that is too far advanced, that goes beyond the level of the moment would be considered impossible, dangerous and counterproductive. People would withdraw, afraid of being mixed up in who knows what.

Anarchists operating within this structure must therefore be in touch with reality and propose actions that are both possible and comprehensible. It is possible that a spreading mass rebellion could evolve from this initial work of stimulation. This is what we mean by the methods and logic of insurrection. It is quite different to the logic of trade unionism and syndicalism (including anarcho-syndicalism), structures that all begin from a logic of defence

as opposed to one of attack. They tend towards quantitative growth (increasing membership) and defending past gains, and, in the case of the trade unions, protecting the interests of one category. What we are proposing on the contrary are basic associative structures organised to deal with one objective of struggle and stimulate people's feelings of rebellion, to culminate in as conscious an insurrection as possible.

Using this method there is no way the anarchists within the structure can transform themselves into a leadership or power group. In fact, as we have said, they are obliged to follow the conditions of the struggle. They are not working for a quantitative growth in their own anarchist group. They cannot propose simply defensive actions but are constrained to go towards increasingly advanced ones. On the one hand these actions can lead to insurrection and levels that cannot be predicted. On the other they can fail to be effective.

In either case the original associative structure inevitably becomes redundant, and the anarchists will go back to what they were doing before.

Alfredo M. Bonanno

## The Devil's Plans

English capitalism is among the most advanced in the world at both a technological level and the level of the production of social peace.

The conservatives' coming to power fitted into this situation perfectly. In a sense what the progressivism of the labour party, "the party of the people," was able to give English capitalism through its socialist rhetoric—welfare, incomes policy (i.e. wage cuts) and the dismembering of the hardest and most advanced struggles—had all been done. They could go no further on the road of permissiveness and State supporter of demand.

An about turn has now taken place. Privatisation is allowing capital to regain whole sectors of productivity that had been taken from it by State initiatives (nationalisation). In

this way the government's process of creating *social peace* does not come about directly (through social security benefits for example), but indirectly (through reduction of inflation, increased possibility of work, selected demand, accentuation of social differentiation, enclosure of the poverty ghettos, repression of these ghettos, etc).

Economic reality had threatened to become divided into two unequal parts: a small productive minority and a huge unproductive majority who however were still active consumers.

What they now want is a stratification into three fairly equal levels: a high-earning productive one, a low earning productive one with a qualified, contained demand; and one with no earnings and fierce repression against it (see increases in government spending on police, prisons, etc).

Social filters will be greatly restricted, something that is still easy to bring about in the largely "closed" structure that still persists in this country today.

Incentive comes from capital returning to find new areas of investment in the homeland instead of going looking for them abroad, for example in America where the dollar rate is so attractive...In this way the dollar/pound relationship should move in favour of the pound, allowing Mrs Thatcher a better political management of private investment and her schemes for privatisation.

But the second and third categories mentioned above—Will they passively accept being put in their place? Will they accept having to reduce their demand and have it selected according to the will of those commanding them? And those who have been pushed into the ghettos, will they agree to remain there? Will they accept living with soldiers controlling every street corner?

All this remains to be seen.

With Mr Kinnock, Labour have put into operation a kind of 'conversion to centre', leaving Mr Foot with his impracticable trade unionist fantasies out in the cold.

But isn't there still the road of uncontrollable wildcat strikes? And that of sabotage? That of

self-managed organisation of the struggle? The future is wide open to discussion. The devil's plans go oft astray.

Pantagruel

## Stop the City?

### Politics in Wolves' Clothing

*Comrades of Greenpeace and various anarchist and pacifist groups and individuals organised a demonstration that took place on September 29 under the slogan "Stop the City." The object was to demonstrate the link between the city and the battlefields, between big business and Cruise. By paralysing the working of this seemingly aseptic centre of accounting and financial transactions, office workers and bank clerks were to become aware of the homicidal implications of their daily routines. The denunciation of a situation of fact: that the whole nuclear programme has solid roots in the capitalist strongholds of the world and that this is the real force behind all the State facades of 'defence' and other such double speak. The demonstration took various forms. Some comrades organised sit-ins, others road blocks, others again went for direct attacks on vehicles and buildings.*

*Leaflets were distributed and banks were suddenly filled with demonstrators blocking tills. The demonstration was the result of months of preparation. Comrades came from all over the country.*

*Here are some impressions of the event.*

203 people arrested without a struggle or anyone fighting back...as if people wanted to be arrested so they could tell their kids... we didn't work imaginatively together but bunched up like a crowd of silly sheep...it should be clear by now (after 900 got done at Upper Heyford) that it's futile to court arrest and hope for good publicity in the fascist press...several groups let off smoke canisters in the Tube tunnels during the morning, the northern and circle lines were closed for some time...several trains were stopped by people pulling the emergency cords...some prepared nails welded together

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so that a pointed end always sticks up were scattered on the roads at key points...a fur shop was successfully smashed up by the animal activists during the demo...trading was badly hit at London International Futures exchange when *Stop the City* people used it as a main gathering point. No despatch riders were able to reach it due to the crowd and vital bank drafts and telexes went astray...one rednecked bastard police inspector got a good kicking after he pushed a punk woman in the face...another group got right inside Rothschilds pretending to be couriers before being set upon by a gang of nasties...for me *Stop the City* was a brilliant success. What I saw was the birth of a new movement without leaders or bureaucracy. At last we have gone beyond the sterile passivity of the institutionalised Peace Movement... *Stop the City* had room for diversity... let's do it again, let's do it every six months or even quarterly!...sitting outside the Bank tube station were three fascist skinheads openly displaying their fucking swastikas tattooed on their arms, shouting abuse and racist slogans at the poxy peace protests, knowing that with a large number of police present no one would stand up to these SHITheads and try to stop these crap...*Stop the City* was SHIT...

As we can see, considerations of the event are as mixed as the event itself. But one thing was confirmed that day: many comrades are ready to come out into the streets and defy the order of police lines, military formations, and legal threats with an energy and creativity, which, if released with more preparation and direction, is of a quality that far outweighs the counterpart's numerical superiority.

For this reason we feel the need to look more closely at certain analytical premises of *Stop the City*.

The first is that the argument—that of nuclear arms and City dealings—was placed in *political* terms. In other words, there was no intention to attract a mass involvement, which could have led to a generalised attack.

So far nothing unusual here. Political demonstrations are the most common kind and anarchists are often present without contradicting their revolutionary aims. What does become

contradictory is the frustration that some comrades obviously felt about the 'tame' methods used to put this political message across. Yet, looking at the situation objectively—the transmission of certain information to predominantly office and white collar workers, and only in second place to other strata of workers (totally relying on media coverage for this)—it had no need for a head on collision with the police to prove its point. It could even be argued that the point could be more effectively put across using the traditional pacifist methods as the demonstration had been planned in terms of pacifist politics even though many comrades had wanted—and attempted—to use direct action and attack to convey them.

To be more explicit: the basic message of *Stop the City* (linking armaments to City financial dealings) does not go beyond the limits of the CND type organisation's political stand of publicising and attacking the nuclear race as a *thing in itself*, without inserting it into a social context and linking it to everyday exploitation. That is why we see very few manual workers and unemployed on antinuclear demonstrations, which are predominantly middle class school teachers, social workers, etc. It is not because the demo decides to use "hard" tactics instead of "soft" that will change this situation.

What miner, his lungs filling up with black dust that is slowly killing him (and he knows it), what lorry driver who has to face all weather conditions to take home a weekly wage, who among the millions in the sweatshops trying to keep body and soul together, have any interest in vague and general bleatings about PEACE? Even a hard demonstration based on that premise seems far removed from their reality. On the face of it these people, and the millions of unemployed manual workers and young people, don't care about the eventuality of a nuclear war. At least it would be quicker than the slow painful deaths and the casualty lists of a war that is waged against them every day. Yet without their involvement anti-war demonstrations will be nothing more than a political protest albeit with a fringe available for direct action as their preferred method.

If anarchists mean to not only inform about

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but also attack the armaments programme, the militarisation of our territory and so on, we must prepare far wider and incisive strategies than another *Stop the City* demonstration, or even monthly ones as has been suggested!

Even the (symbolic) attack on the 'heart of the State' is a political gesture. Anarchists are well aware that' the State has no heart, is just as vulnerable at the dole office, the housing estates, transport networks, etc, etc, as it is in the City. It will never be known what might have happened in Italy in the last few years had groups such as the stalinist Red Brigades instead of 'striking the heart of the State' had worked to widen socialise their attacks at a level that could be comprehended and participated in by workers instead of taking on a military frontal attack which forced them into isolation and becoming part of the spectacle to be dished up daily by the media with the effect of crippling autonomous struggle and now ended up in the squalor of betrayal, repentance and amnesty.

This all leads to a series of questions which have never been discussed within the movement and which in my opinion are fundamentally linked to any proposals of action. The distinction between strategy and tactics (in the case of *Stop the City* tactics came under fire while the basic strategy was never questioned) needs to be gone into. The (in many cases false) problem of the distinction between pacifist and violent methods in anti-nuclear struggles is open to discussion. It's time to stop burying our heads in the sand or bristling up every time the concept of criticism and self-criticism appears, concepts which are fundamental to anarchism itself and without which we risk becoming robotic activists.

Jean Weir

## Chronicle

### September

1 British Gas Corporation is to cut between 10,000 and 20,000 jobs by the end of the 80s.

Police are investigating bombings at the London offices and home of South African millionaire

Sir Philip Oppenheimer.

5 The day before term starts a Berkshire primary school is set alight and destroyed. 1984 showed a record fall of 500,000 in TUC memberships.

6 Scotland Yard launches 'neighbourhood watch' scheme. Meetings are being held with residents' associations, pensioners and children children, inviting them all to spy on each other. Unemployed 16-year-old Andrew Bardin from Rotherhithe dies after being chased by an Australian tourist who saw him stealing a handbag. How this citizen's arrest came about is not made public. What we know is that Andrew ended up choking on his own vomit. 75% abstention in the Lewisham Drakes Ward by-election.

Dunstan Dunstan, 29, is committed for trial at Aylesbury Crown Court, accused of threatening to kill Prince Charles.

8 A letter bomb addressed to Secretary of State Norman Tebbit ignites on being opened by a clerk. In Edinburgh another was sent to George Younger, Secretary of State for Scotland.

12-year-old Craig Bennett was killed while working at a funfair ride belonging to Mr Maurice Sketchley, Abergale, N Wales who employed him from 11 am till 10:30 pm for £5. His T shirt caught on a catch and pulled him backwards into the ride as it span round.

12 A 30 year old coach driver is thrown through the windscreen in an accident and crushed to death.

13 62-year-old William Kemp was hit by a crane and killed while working for Freight Masters Services Ltd, Ferry Lane, Rainham.

100 dossers are to be 'evicted' from Embankment Tube station arches.

15 There is to be an enquiry into the death of 17 year old David Brookes who fell down a disused mineshaft while doing a YTS course.

17 Shadow Wignal, accused of throwing two gallons of petrol over desks and floor of Brixton Employment Centre and setting them alight refuses to recognise the court during his three-day trial, remaining in the police cells below. He is sentenced to four years.

80 Animal Action demonstrators arrested.

Derailment of underground train at Gedling Colliery injures 31 Nottingham miners.

**18** Official YOP toll is 17 deaths and 3000 injuries during its first three years.

**19** A worker is killed in BP chemical plant explosion in Hull.

**21** At Brixton prison, prisoners rebel against warders' policy of removing ring pulls from drinks cans. 15 screws end up in hospital.

**22** 13,000 miners strike spontaneously in solidarity with workmate suspended for allegedly hitting out at foreman.

**24** Home Secretary Leon Brittan announces allocation of 600 extra places for 'disruptive prisoners'. Frankland Prison near Durham is to be allocated to 'top security' prisoners.

Angry miners jostle union bosses as wildcat strikes spread across Yorkshire coalfields. DPP clears police of blame in connection with death of James Davey in a Coventry police station.

1,000 jobs are to go at the Dunlop car tyre plant in Birmingham.

In Cardiff Court another conspiracy farce is acted out. Anarchist comrade Daffyd Ladd is among the accused.

DHSS employees call for increased protection following wave of firebombings of offices in response to recent stepping up of DHSS snooping on claimants.

**25** At the last count Her Majesty was playing hostess to 43,415 prisoners in her stinking jails. Mass breakout from Maze concentration camp. 21 escape.

**28** 38-year-old farm worker John Bancroft of Harston loses his right arm in a potato-harvesting machine.

22-year-old soldier and Hitler fanatic who had tried to form Nazi movement in the Falls Road is sentenced to life after being found guilty of shooting three of "his men," one aged 20, the others 19. They had spoken in Hebrew while on checkpoint duty in the Lebanon.

A warder in Perth maximum security is released by a prisoner who had been holding him at knifepoint for 22 hours.

## October

**1** 28,000 people in London hold shotgun licences. There were 12,000 robberies in the city last year, 1,800 with guns.

Secretary of State for Social Services Norman Fowler announces that almost 50000 jobs will go as government health cuts are agreed upon.

**4** Lewes Crown Court offices are broken into and lockers opened. Walls were sprayed with encircled A's and "Lewes Rebel Army."

Young girls in State "care" are kept drugged and locked in isolation cells it is disclosed.

A normal working day – until the lorry skids off an M6 sliproad and falls 30 feet onto another. One driver is killed outright. The other is seriously ill in hospital.

Attack on Lambeth Conservative Club. Paint and bricks are thrown and slogans graffitied (see document).

**7** Paul Raymond's Whitehall theatre 'Theatre of War' is cleared when two incendiary devices are discovered on the premises.

**8** Thames Valley police are to recruit another 100 officers.

Health and Safety officer reports 8 000 serious accidents among farm labourers in a year.

**11** A 2-ft iron bar is thrust into the underground chain driving the assembly line at the Austin Rover Cowley works halting production for 90 minutes and causing a loss of 50 Maestro cars. Trial begins of two Kent brothers accused of sending a number of letter bombs to "top people" including Mrs Thatcher and Prince Charles.

**13** Because of increasingly frequent riots in top security prisons a Home Office committee under Mr Anthony Langdon is to study new ways of controlling prisoners. Screws are calling for re-installation of control units for long term prisoners foreseen by Leon Brittan's announcement of 20 years' minimum imprisonment for killings during armed robberies of police and security guards, etc.

**13** Manpower Services Commission are considering recruiting "young offenders" and children leaving special homes (eg Dr Barnardos) to fill some of the 20% places in the YOP which school leavers have refused to be conned into.

Treasury breakdown of price rises over the past twenty years shows that essentials like fuel, rates and water charges are those that have risen most. The poor continue to be those hit hardest.

**14** Statistics supplied to an Age Concern conference show that in the winter of 1981 3/4 people on average died each day from cold (ie poverty). Official number of deaths from 'hypothermia' for that year are 646.

Mounting tension in Britain's prisons forces Home Office to announce plans to reduce prison population by 4,300 in an attempt to defuse it.

A 58 year old worker is crushed to death at Ford Dagenham plant as he helped shift a 21/2 ton die used to stamp out car body panels.

**17** The Home Office, backed by magistrates and parliamentary penal affairs group are preparing a report on 'part time' prison—eg Saturday am till Sunday night for working offenders and 9 am till 9 pm weekdays for the unemployed. These "part time prisoners" would be taken to special camps manned (they intend) by retired screws and schoolteachers.

A London professor of kidney diseases is refusing to sign death certificates of patients who have died because of lack of treatment due to government cuts (2,500 out of every 4,000 he estimates) and is instead referring such cases to coroner.

**19** Explosive situation at Gartree model prison. Warders are demanding eight extra of their kind and say that in the case of riots they'll abandon compound and flee to the perimeter. "Supergrass" arrested in West Belfast after retracting evidence at a press conference which has caused the imprisonment of 28 people. More than 300 people are being held in N. Ireland on evidence of 20 "supergrasses." Some are still waiting after 20 months inside for trial.

**21** Due to privatisation many cleaners—among the lowest paid workers in the country—are to have wage cuts from £2.12 to £1.80 in the London area and ICC in Merseyside are going to reduce their hourly rate from £1.70 to £1.50.

**26** Fire sweeps through an East End sweat shop—DK Netawere Manufacturing of Mile End

Road—killing four young seamstresses.

**27** Another victim of work. This time a man is killed while working in a sewer.

**28** Mother of David Moore (he was killed by a speeding police car during Toxteth riots) gets damages awarded.

**29** 187 women, many carrying wire cutters, are arrested when they breach the fence at Greenham Common missile base.

**30** One worker is killed and another two are seriously injured in a Dundee shipyard. Another 16 women arrested at Greenham.

## November

**1** On Thursday terrified children were evicted by the SPG from a council home, the Hollies, in Sidcup, Kent. The kids had barricaded themselves in after being told they were to be moved to other homes. Twenty were taken to Bexleyheath police station, another thirteen ran away.

Since then the home has been smashed up and the warden's house burned out.

Closure of Scott Lithgow shipyard in Clydebank announced: 4,500 jobs will go, resulting in the paralysis of the whole area.

Six miners are trapped and their rescuers also risk death more than 300 feet underground after a roof collapses in a 72-year-old pit in Doncaster, due to be closed in 1985.

BNFL nuclear waste dischargers have discharged a quarter of a ton of plutonium in the last 20 years, enough to give 250 million people a lethal dose if dispersed through the atmosphere.

British Nuclear Fuels have identified a town in Cumbria about 30 miles from the coastline where a "cancer cluster" exists, but refuse to disclose the name of the town.

**2** War secretary Michael Heseltine announces in the House of Commons that peace protesters will be shot by the guards of the Cruise missiles if they are considered a threat to these genocidal projects.

**5** A deserter is handed back to the army after 23 years. Fusilier Eamonn Gilligan, 46, was remanded at Prestatyn, N Wales to await military escort. He deserted while on leave from Africa.

A man rammed his car through the security cordon into the Greenham Common missile base yesterday. The speeding car headed straight for the giant American Galaxy aircraft unloading equipment for the missiles but was rammed by US military police before it reached its target.

Fireworks cause £200 damage when thrown into a sex shop in Hounslow, W London.

6-year-old Ann Marie from Grayshott, Hants dies after being denied a bone marrow operation due to Health Service cuts.

This year so far 16,595 people have been stopped and searched in Wandsworth alone. 1,372 were arrested.

6 Garage worker Christopher Wood and another man are killed when there is a gas explosion at a breakdown garage in Bradford. Police hit out at demonstrators in an Animal Rights demonstration in Carshalton, Surrey using truncheons covered in thick black oil.

Blows left stains on victims' hair, skin and clothing and they were later picked out and arrested. 28 arrests made.

Five men in their 30's, two British and three Norwegians, are killed on a north sea oil rig when the seal on a diving bell breaks causing them to get the bends Over 30 divers have been killed since work began in the North Sea.

7 A tiny family sweat-shop in the basement of a house in Gravesend, Kent, explodes killing three children and three adults.

9 Three prisoners rebel at Parkhurst top security jail. Three screws end up in hospital.

11 Rationalisation of British Leyland means closure of 9 Land Rover plants over the next two years. 1,500 jobs will go.

In Whitehaven, Cumbria, an inquest jury return a verdict of accidental death on a Windscale worker who died from cancer. The coroner had told the jury to ignore Yorkshire television's documentary on the plant.

14 Philip Read and Simon Starkie of Spark Bridge, Cumbria, appear before Bow Street magistrates court charged with obstructing the police. They had carried a dustbin full of estuary mud from around Windscale to number 10 Downing Street The bin contained fish and a crab, some local sheep and ox livers and some Cumbrian sausages. A geiger counter signalled

that they contained radioactivity.

16 Over 300 people arrested at Westminster as peace demonstration blocks House of Commons.

War secretary Heseltine is hit by a paint bomb and sprayed with red paint when he arrives to speak at Manchester University Tory students' meeting.

Warwick students union fined £30,000 for organising demo during visit by education secretary Sir Keith Joseph last year.

A prisoner escapes from a Kent hospital after breaking away from two screws.

A transporter carrying an empty nuclear waste flask collides with another lorry on the M6 near Carlisle. The transporter had just completed delivery of 150 irradiated uranium rods to the Windscale reprocessing plant from Chapel Cross power station in Dumfriesshire. BNFL have been using the M6 and A66 routes three times a week since 1980.

18 NGA fined £50,000 for contempt of court in defying injunction on unlawful picketing.

There is to be an increase of £92 million in the prison spending budget to accelerate the building of ten new prisons. Wayland, near Norfolk, and Stocken Hall in Leicestershire are planning to open this year. Apple Thorn juvenile prison mean to open in Cheshire in 1986 and four others—Bovingdon, Hertfordshire; Gayneshall, Cambridgeshire; Swaleside, Kent; Garth, near Preston, Lancashire—are planned for 1987.

A new category C prison is being built at Featherstone, Staffordshire where there is already a closed prison. The 10th prison and by far the biggest is to be a new local prison for London, at Woolwich, expected to be completed by 1991 and have a capacity of 770.

A prison screw is held hostage for three hours in a workshop in Hull maximum security jail. A nine-month-old baby being breast fed has spent over a week in a damp mediaeval police cell in Liverpool with his mother on cheques charges.

19 The Metropolitan Police rush out 19 pages of 'radical reforms' in response to a 1,000 page study of their brutality and racism by Police Studies Institute.

21 Process workers at Windscale (sorry,

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Sellafield), take and publicise the internal log report which demonstrates that BNFL had been covering up by giving false figures of radioactive waste washed up on beaches at weekend.

**23** Seven men are cleared of terrorist charges in Northern Ireland after the informer – a British ex-soldier on whose evidence alone they were arrested and imprisoned, is denounced as ‘a forger, a perjurer and a thief’.

A vigilante group of university officials and students is to be set up at Manchester University after the paint spraying of Heseltine last week. Thirty prisoners were evacuated from the Wyckham wing in Winchester prison after a fire started in a mattress in an occupied cell. Six screws are in hospital recovering from after effects of smoke.

600 pickets in Warrington in the greatest challenge to Government’s two Labour laws of 1980 and 1982.

**29** 22 printers, 26 students and 13 unemployed appear in two special magistrates’ courts at Warrington: 50 are charged with breach of the peace, 22 with willful obstruction.

Determined to get his pound of flesh, Leon Brittan is to open a new enquiry into the Albany riots after failing in his first attempt when the High Court ruled that procedure against mutiny charges went against ‘natural justice’.

## December

**1** Hundreds of NGA pickets defy court injunction.

Police close exit slip roads from M62 leading to Winwick estate.

RUC admit to killing an 80 year old woman during a gun battle in Co. Tyrone.

**2** Scotland Yard and Government step in to forbid payment of ransom by Associated British Foods for release of kidnapped executive Mr Don Todey.

House of Commons approves clause in Police and Criminal Evidence Bill extending to police powers to stop and search “all whom they reasonably suspect of carrying offensive weapons or housebreaking equipment.”

Eight firemen are injured in a fire at ICI petrochemical works in Cleveland.

## Vandalising For Fun not Profit

On the night of the fifth of November the Lambeth Conservative Club was raided. Windows were bricked, paint bombs thrown, red paint poured down the doorsteps and Tories Against the Bomb’ stenciled on its walls. Oh yes, and the cars in the club’s car park were spiked.

The whole thing took thirty seconds and a minimum of organisation “Who’s going to throw the bricks then? Oh, I might as well.” It was done by a group of friends getting together to make a friendly gesture to the supporters of a political party that has contributed so much for Lambeth – more poverty, more jail sentences, more police (some of them in kinky new uniforms), more sadness, and more depression (and I don’t just mean the economic kind).

Some right-minded citizens might ask: “Just what did that achieve?” THIS: A wonderful night out. It showed those people inside that being voted into power by 32% of the country in a decrepit and disgusting election does not protect them from the anger of those they imagine they were lording it over. And above all it showed that there are people around who *are prepared to disobey*. That was the best thing about it. Actions like that give vent to feelings which cannot legally be expressed. Feelings which are too deep, and far too human to be expressed through the machine of what the people who profit by it choose to call democracy. (“Democracy” means rule by the people: whatever happened to that one, eh?). What we did, those at the receiving end might like to know, was done with care not to hurt *people*. If only *they* would be as careful when they wield the power bestowed on them by the anonymous electorate!

What we did was another form of political graffitiing, a bit of self expression if you like, in a country where the members of the Conservative Club will only hear the views of the influential, the journalists, the politicians and so forth (never those of the folk who live round the corner). Why? Because we don’t write for glossy magazines, and we have no access to TV or radio and probably never will.

The hinge of our democracy is legality—obedience to the law. The government agrees to a set of laws which are softer than the laws they would ideally want to push through all their plane, and in exchange for this softness ‘we’, the voters, must obey those soft laws to the letter. That’s the theory. So when something illegal is done—like a paint-bombing—every citizen who still respects the law sees one side of a reasonable contract being broken and the whole setup collapsing like a row of dominoes. The moment, however, that anyone tries to live a freer and better life, it becomes clear that the contract is *not* reasonable at all and that for any kind of human freedom to even begin both the law and obedience to it must go, as they are merely the devices (and clever devices at that) by which one group of people hold down another. This isn’t to say we should go out and do something illegal for the hell of it and then claim we’re freer; but when we do something, anything, we should push the legal question out of our heads and make a personal decision, a truly responsible decision. Legality is irrelevant to human beings, and is only clung to as a guide by those who are too weak or too intimidated or, perhaps, too unsure of themselves, to think and act for themselves.

In West Germany, where demonstrations are dealt with so fiercely that they are hardly ever held, people who prefer to think and act for themselves have resorted to numerous small actions. No-one believes for a minute that because these actions are small and disconnected, they are therefore not popular. It should be the same here. Large demonstrations are treated leniently—but at the same time they are ignored with contempt by the authorities they want to influence. So let’s do something else. Short of exterminating us nobody is going to get rid of our anger, and by ‘our’ I mean everybody who is constricted unreasonably in any way by authority in the course of their day. Anyone not included?

Wherever you live, something can be done! (and done again). If you can’t afford the paint and awls, then try a mass occupation, a street blocking, an unofficial picket, or if there’s only one of you then talk to someone else about how you feel, at least. And remember that what

counts is what you do, not what you natter about—so you’d be better off with a group of people you know and trust at heart than with a group of people who have come together for artificial motives like all belonging to the same party. And don’t forget that what you are doing is nothing compared to the blindness, the arrogance, the stupidity and lack of human sense to be found in the set-ups you’re attacking.

Obviously you know better than I do where your oppressors go about their daily business. However here are a few addresses of some of the worst and I mean the worst—50 Warwick Square, London SW1 (Victoria Tube): here you can find Roberto Fiore an Italian fascist wanted in Italy for his involvement in various (lethal) bombings; here too is Michael Walker, NF member and editor of *The Scorpion* a far right glossy which is now selling at WH Smith outlets, and which uses Warwick Square as its contact address. Other tenants include Robin Davies (assistant to David—the six million never died—Irving) and a Conservative junior minister called Nicholas Ridley.

15 Bradley Road, Chiswick, London—here lives Edward Thompson, a director of Schermuly Ltd (from Newdigate, Dorking—another address).

This company specialises in the manufacture of clandestine surveillance equipment and anti-riot gear; their brochure says that they ‘lead the field in all aspects of internal security and counter-insurgency operations’.

Among their products you will find pocket-sized electric prod batons (clearly for the plain clothes) and several designs for concealed cameras. They’re helping thugs everywhere (they’ve supplied 65 foreign police/military authorities). Does anyone know? Does anyone care?

South Africa House. A fairly obvious building located in Trafalgar Square, London (nearest Tube Charing Cross).

113 Grove Park, Camberwell. An unimposing building housing a joint surveillance and bugging facility used mainly by the C7 department of the Met (Camberwell SE5, by the way) Political bugging is widespread. 300 million pounds go every year to intelligence and counter-insurgency research.

93 Ebury Bridge Road London SW1. Better known as 'Tinkerbell' this centre is devoted entirely to listening in to the phone conversations of honest citizens. For more information see Duncan Campbell's *Phone tapping and the Security State* £1.50 from most anarchist, socialist and independent bookshops (like Foyles).

I'm not suggesting that addresses like the above or any other you feel represents a threat to your freedom can best be dealt with by a quick paint job. There are as many ways of protesting as there are ideas in your head. As long as you know what you are doing, why you are doing it, what you hope to achieve out of it, and realise that what you do is YOUR RESPONSIBILITY and that you must account for it.

It helps if you can rope in as many trusted people as possible, and that one thing leads to another.

A time has come at last when people can react against the constant imprisonment of their thoughts and actions without being accused of working for a foreign power. We are working for ourselves and may they do the same everywhere in the world, east and west, north and south. Freedom begins at home. We cannot fight the powers that be directly (their weapons, in the last sixty years, have become far too powerful for that) But acting together we can undermine them until they collapse. One human being is worth more than all the destructive machinery in the world than all the constraints and customs we take for granted, than all the hierarchical institutions which are now rusting slowly, encircled by State frontiers which have neither rhyme nor reason, than all the orders and 'yessirs' which can be heard everywhere, whether the place be 'revolutionary', 'Popular', 'Democratic' or just plain wretched. And as we go about this 'destruction' we can build as we have destroyed, with those we trust, working together on vital projects, listening to suggestions and acting upon them as we see fit, instead of mindlessly obeying commands from our equals. I'll put it another way—if we don't act, we're finished, for good. So good luck.

George Orwell

*The above is a transcription of a leaflet found in a public telephone box in the Brixton area last October. We are reproducing it here as we consider some of the arguments it contains to be of general interest.*

## Stop The City? From Information to Attack

*Stop the City* was an informative action. Such actions are interesting and useful, though limited, and cannot just be written off as worthless because some comrades don't agree with the methods they use. The problem is deeper than that and is worth going into.

An informative demonstration can conceal itself under some pretty impressive slogans—often to mobilise more people, especially the young marginal fringes—but it remains a demonstration with the aim of making certain facts known. It might call itself *Stop the City* or *Burn the City*, but the aim is to draw people's attention to certain things, nothing else. As such it remains a useful but limited action.

To participate in this kind of demonstration in order to push it, from within, towards more violent, revolutionary objectives is a mistake. It becomes the mythical vanguardist *entryism* of which Lenin and in particular Trotsky were masters. We well know today that anarchists have no interest in entryism. If one doesn't agree with an informative type of demonstration, it is better to stay at home.

It is quite logical for comrades in that kind of demonstration to remain sitting in the road while police charge, not moving to prevent themselves being arrested or offering any other kind of resistance? it is one of the main methods participants in that kind of demonstration can use, unless an unlikely spontaneous popular participation occurs, transforming it into an insurrectional situation of street fighting.

Those who don't agree with such methods as sitting and waiting to be charged by police should not participate in such a demonstration, but organise with other like-minded comrades

to prepare one of a different kind.

But what should these different demonstrations be like?

We find ourselves faced with a basic problem of method. The demonstrations should be in a logic of *attack*, the informative part where people are told of the reasons for the demonstration, the State's projects, the aims of militarism, etc, are planned beforehand. Next a precise programme of drawing people into a structure for attacking, organised in advance, carefully prepared with the means adequate to the kind of attack that is desired.

Comrades therefore not only take on the task of *informing* but also that of *getting people involved*, something which cannot be done using the same means as the former. For example, if a leaflet or poster is enough to transmit the main point of the information, they are not adequate for providing people with operational proposals. It is far more important that these be given with sudden graffiti, banners and placards shown at a particular moment, or with a brief speech or mobile talks with loudhailers. Involving people is an emotive and immediate fact linked to the content of the information and analyses, but has its own requirements in order to come about.

Involvement might not happen immediately, making a third stage in the action necessary: an exemplary minority attack on a precise objective which has been studied beforehand with care taken to ensure that this objective is not super-protected by the police. In this perspective an attack against the police itself is significant and can be a moment of going towards wider involvement.

But this phase must not become an end in itself, nor detached from the way the demonstration as a whole is going. In other words, it should not be programmed in such a way that it *must* take place at any cost because anyway everything is ready for the action in question. Nor must it be a way to show off how brave, extremist, violent and courageous we are. All that is unimportant.

The direct attack is a step forward in the project of general involvement. It should not be forgotten that the demonstration is aimed at the transformation of a minority attack

into a *generalised attack*, i.e. an attack that has succeeded in involving other people.

If it is observed that participation is limited and separate, if it is seen that people are bewildered by the informative content, the whole thing can be blocked even before the minority attack. Basically anarchists have no interest in bringing about mini-revolts which are nothing but a storm in a teacup.

The aim of every clash is its generalisation. This is certainly never foreseeable in absolute, and for this reason attacks by the minority often end up being defeated. But it is always possible to study the conditions for their realisation. When these conditions are absolutely negative, then it is better to desist.

To sum up this brief piece: it isn't possible to make an abstract criticism of a demonstration like *Stop the City*. Whoever doesn't agree with it should set to work to organise another kind of demonstration where the problem of sitting down in front of the police doesn't arise. This second kind of demonstration is structured in four phases: a) information; b) popular involvement; c) minority attack; d) generalised attack. The last two stages do not necessarily follow on from the first, and might not happen, but it's indispensable that comrades prepare everything as if the latter are absolutely certain.

A.M.B.

## A Question of Dietetics, or Gluten-Free Christ

*In a tiny factory tucked away in Galway, Ireland, a band of nuns have been pursuing an activity which in less progressive times would have led them to the stake. Their heresy has consisted in producing Communion wafers with gluten-free flour for ingestion by those suffering from coeliac disease, of which there is a high incidence in the area and which also claims the Archbishop of Liverpool among its sufferers.*

The flesh of Christ without gluten, although clearly more palatable and less toxic to some, cannot be tolerated by the Vatican without careful consideration. For centuries the

anthropophagous rite has been central to catholic dominion with the presence of Jesus in bread and wine under discussion from the second to the eighth century. The Council of Jerusalem (754) was against a real (flesh and blood) presence, but the Council of Nice accepted it. The question was definitively resolved by another council held in Rome in 1215.

The Eucharist is the transformation of bread into meat and wine into blood. No need for alchemy, special recipes or devices. The mere pronunciation of the phrases "this is my body, this is my blood" by a priest, a gulp and down he goes in one: body, blood, spirit, and divine essence, that handsome young carpenter from Nazareth, causing many a chaste heart to flutter and centuries of orgasmic fantasies in cloistered nunneries.

Anyone who dares deny that he is actually ingesting Christ's body faces certain excommunication as set down by the Council of Trento. Vegetarians abstain from this veritable orgy of cannibalism—not just a steak but a whole carcass—and only the priests may savour the vampiric delight of drinking the blood on its own. For the masses it is contained in the bread.

The probability of one, one thousand, or even millions of resurrections from urban sewage pipes or tippler toilets has never been clearly stated. St Thomas of Aquinas dedicated many pages to showing that at some point in the digestive tract a metamorphosis occurs: the divine body becomes mere faeces. But subsequent doctrinaries have found difficulty in coming to terms with this and it remains an open question.

These delicate problems of fusing the divine with the digestive tract however have not distracted the Holy See from its more wordly pursuits. Through a massive operation of rationalised physical and psychological terror throughout the centuries they have accumulated terrestrial wealth and power unmatched in the world today. From the sumptuous Vatican Palace with its 8,000 rooms and the most priceless art treasures the world knows, there spreads a web of property, banking, speculation which it would take pages to list.

Suffice it to say that it plays a determining role in the economic running of Italy, Spain, South America and even the United States, countries whose dispossessed are in large part enslaved to this spiritual and material empire.

So, beware, ye witches of Galway. With these tasteless wafers you are feeding a monster that oppresses millions. Fewer and fewer of them are prepared to wait for the pie in the sky, gluten free or not.

J.W.

## At Greenham as In Comiso

Predictions of the social and economic effects of the Cruise missile base in Comiso are proving themselves with clockwork regularity here in England at Greenham Common and surrounding area. In January, seven US soldiers were sacked for drug addiction and there have been further reports of heroin addiction inside the missile base. Newbury shopkeepers are not at all pleased to hear that the Americans are building their own supermarket, so the dollars won't be rolling into their pockets after all. And last week's secret night convoy was a taste of the militarisation that will steadily increase and spread over our territory.

## Health Service War Plan: Home Defence Sub-Region 6

A large number of unburied dead would present a health hazard of significant proportions. However, due to shortage of fuel, it may not be possible to perform mass cremations. The more practicable means of disposal would be through mass burials in pits. The burial of 1000 bodies would require a pit 50 metres long, four metres wide and 2.5 metres deep. Again due to shortage of fuel such pits would have to be dug by hand. Able-bodied volunteers should, therefore, ensure that they possess a spade or a shovel. Advance planning is necessary to choose suitable sites to ensure mass burials do not pollute water supplies.

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*Part of a duplicated letter on official-looking paper headed with the address of Mr John Barnes, emergency planning officer for the South East Thames regional health authority. It was distributed to homes all over that area, causing hundreds of distraught people to contact his office at David Solomons House, Southborough, and to jam Kent and Sussex police switchboards.*

## Comiso

*Comiso in Sicily is Italy's Greenham Common. A hitherto unknown little town, it now has a prime place on NATO's nuclear armaments map, having been chosen to house 112 Cruise missiles. Its similarity with Greenham ends here however, the social and economic reality of the town and surrounding area being quite different to that of Newbury. Although Comiso itself is a moderately prosperous commercial and agricultural centre, it is surrounded by poverty and unemployment, a situation that prevails among Sicilian peasants and manual workers. In contrast to what was being said by the Italian government – that the missile base would bring wellbeing and jobs to the area – the local anarchists (groups in Ragusa and Catania) set to work to give a more realistic picture. Increased economic hardship through rising prices, arrival of the mafia to the area, circulation of hard drugs, prostitution, are among the effects that this military occupation will have on the area's people. The anarchists also criticised the typical pacifist approach to the struggle which tended to see nuclear arms as a problem in themselves and made reference to complicated analyses of international politics. They challenged the approach of the political parties who professed to be against the base, in particular the Communist Party with their massive rallies and demonstrations which did absolutely nothing to threaten the deadly programme being put into effect by the American and Italian governments with the help of the mafia who hold all the contracts for building the base. They set about the massive task of preparing a popular mass insurrection which was to take the form of a mass occupation of the base. For almost two years they worked incessantly, going around the area doing outdoor meetings, leafletting, opening a tiny office in Comiso itself and helping to form self-managed leagues as the organisational*

*form the struggle was to take. The difficulties were many – lack of funds (while thousands were pouring into the Peace Camp), police repression, threats from the mafia. There was also incomprehension by comrades who had little experience of the reality of social struggle so different to activity in and around specific anarchist groups. As time went on it became clear that the local population were waiting for words to become action. Most of them had pronounced themselves to be firmly against the base, many agreed with occupation as the only effective way to prevent its being built on their doorsteps, and some had even gone beyond that and made specific commitments for the days of the occupation itself. But they wanted proof too that the anarchists were serious in their intentions. A date for the occupation was fixed – 22, 23, 24 July – and publicised worldwide. The channels used were mainly international anarchist groups, bookshops and peace organisations. "Everyone to Comiso" was the slogan in an appeal to the whole movement to come forward and participate in some way in what could have been a moment of great importance in Sicily and in the struggle against militarism and the State generally. What follows is an abbreviated account of what happened instead at Comiso on July 22 and 23, 1983.*

Here is a brief account of why, in our opinion, our work during the past two years in Comiso ended with a great many bruised and beaten comrades, a passive, frightened population, and a second suggestion from the local mafia "to get out of Comiso." Does this mean that the people of Comiso prefer Americans and nuclear missiles in their land to having anarchists and punks walking around their streets? Or are there other reasons why they did not participate in what could have led to preventing the construction of the base?

Since the events of the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th July we have been accused of exaggerating the phenomenon of the Leagues. "Triumphalism," "disinformation" (*Peace News*), "blind optimism," "false," are some of the terms. Some say we dreamt the whole thing up. Comrades who turned up on the 22<sup>nd</sup> and did not find "the masses" lined up outside the airport, decided after a few brief encounters in bars and hitch-hiking, that none of "the locals" had even heard

of the Leagues. This led to their feeling the need to do something, anything, to anarchists were in town.

We have described the Leagues as mass organisms from the start. It was pointed out that they were not trade union or syndicalist-type organisations, but nuclei, points of reference in the optic of a self-managed struggle against the missile base. Their methods were to be those of permanent conflict and direct attack against the base. As can be seen from their Organisational Document, their aim was not to expand quantitatively. For example, in the town of Vittoria, the students' League brought all the local schools out in a spontaneous strike. The object was not to get them all to belong to the Leagues but to stimulate them, through their relationship point-of-reference/mass, to discuss and face the problem of the base and how it would affect their lives. The Leagues in other towns acted in the same way.

A great deal has been said about our "lack of clarity" concerning the Communist Party. References to Spain, and to popular fronts of more recent times abounded. But we too know about Spain. We are also aware of the meaning of "popular front." We didn't completely lose our heads.

Never at any time did we foster any illusions about this party. We merely tried to put pressure on it at a regional level as far as the Comiso missile base was concerned. At one point they found themselves obliged to publicly support us at a trial following arrests made after the students' strike in Vittoria. Again, under pressure from the workers at the oil refinery in Gela, they had us immediately released from the local police station when we were arrested while leafletting. We knew it would take a lot more to force these traitors to an unofficial external support of the occupation. For them this would have meant the possibility of recuperation. For us, a certain guarantee, credibility in a social reality where that party is still a force to be reckoned with. It would have gone towards dispelling the accusations of terrorism that had been made against us, also to reducing the possibility of a military confrontation, preventing our isolation and generally increasing participation in the

occupation.

Our main point of reference, those most receptive to the information we were circulating and the most combative, were the base of the CP. We didn't make an attack on the Party or criticise their politics. We talked instead in terms of their inefficiency in the struggle against the missile site. We never had any base to oppose or link with theirs, hence the absurdity of "popular front" type accusations.

Our aim was to organise a revolt. We wanted to create the essential conditions for an insurrection. An insurrection which would be limited and circumscribed, perhaps, but which was to be based on the rebellion of the people. We therefore had to penetrate the reality of their lives, their mentality, their traditions, the symbols and commonplaces of proletarian values. While others talked, we set to work.

We were aware of the importance of an unofficial recognition of the occupation by the Communist Party. We also knew that would only happen if our strength forced them to. Our first indication that they felt sure of themselves was when they kept quiet after the attack on our house by the local mafia. The subterranean work carried out by the small parties in their service within the population and the Peace Camp was beginning to bear fruit. They and the IMAC and CUDIP called for three days of blockades on the 19th, 20th, and 21st July, the days immediately preceding the deadline for the occupation. That this was a deliberate act of sabotage was confirmed when the organisers didn't even turn up, much to the frustration and rage of the German, Dutch and English comrades at the Peace Camp, who were sincerely committed to stopping the Cruise programme. They found themselves alone in the sweltering heat. The workers went in to carry on construction work. At about 11am a few so-called progressive MPs came along to have themselves filmed by the TV cameras in front of the gates.

So, the Communist Party had their alibi for not giving the go ahead for the occupation. No one had come to the blockades (yet when they want to the CP can mobilise tens of thousands), so "the masses" were not "mature" for direct action. Another major effect of this operation

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was disorientation. With so many “days of struggle,” people had become confused. By instrumentalising the Peace Camp the CP had put a stamp on, the days that were to follow. Already one part of the project was lost before it had begun.

As far as the pacifists were concerned, many of them were aware of the significance of the three days of so-called struggle organised by the politicians of the Peace Camp. They were tired of ideological/political discussions and among the most enthusiastic and constructive of the affinity groups that had formed to prepare the mass occupation.

The punks’ revolutionary impetus put all the other mistakes in the shade. It was they who made concrete proposals when it seemed that all should be abandoned. For many it was their first experience of social struggle, but they left the old mature revolutionaries far behind, blinded by their various ideological positions.

Considering the nature of the situation, the presence of the Italian anarchist movement was considerable. It was small considering the numerical possibility of the movement. Some had imagined they would find the masses waiting for them outside the airport. Had we been so sure of that we needn’t have made such an effort to solicit anarchists’ presence at such a crowded appointment. Many however were perfectly aware of the situation, having followed it actively for months beforehand. They came early to prepare the days of struggle along with the comrades of the Leagues. They were the ones who made the best working contribution to the affinity groups.

Then of course there were those who had come to observe and criticise. We are convinced that a great number of comrades failed to understand the situation during these three days, which explains the procrastination, doubts, and arguments. During the preceding two years we had distributed thousands of leaflets, held over a hundred outdoor meetings, debates, and conferences, had time on local television and radio. We approached, and were approached by, truck drivers, tractor owners, people with experience of trade union struggles and some who had had personal clashes with the police. In this way we built up a small network of people

available for the struggle against the base. But they needed some evidence of our seriousness, our commitment, numerical strength, etc.

We contacted comrades outside the area—Palermo, Naples, Calabria, and elsewhere—and they in turn built up their own networks. We thus built a map of available people and means. Not a political or ideological map but a practical one. We can’t go into everything here, but there were a number of trucks, tractors, equipment to build a tower in front of the base, barricades for the roads, other means to defend the occupation and make it last. But first we had to give something of our own. Certainly, if the Communist Party had decided to take an interest it would have been different. Instead, they set out to sabotage us, so that potential was lost.

There was also some bad luck. And some missed appointments. For example a well-known local ballad singer said he would do street concerts in the poor areas to get the women out of their homes and discuss the occupation. We knew most of the proletarian women were against the base and that they were potentially a great force in the struggle, but they needed some kind of guarantee to push them to make the first step. There is no way of knowing whether the street meetings would have been the catalyst, but that was another thing that went against us.

Then there was the difficulty that comrades from completely different social and cultural situations had in communicating with the local people. This often led to misunderstandings.

But to get back to the organisational work. About ten days before, when the first comrades began to arrive, the idea of forming affinity groups was discussed. Most people there already were a part of some sort of affinity group and it was agreed by all that this was the most natural and effective way to decide upon actions for the days of struggle that were to come. That way it would be possible to avoid discussing delicate topics at open meetings.

It was agreed it was essential to keep in close contact with the populations of Comiso and Vittoria. This was the indispensable cornerstone for transforming our action into a mass event instead of just another isolated political gesture.

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A great deal of work was dedicated to this problem. A radio link was tried, but was found to be too easily intercepted. After unsuccessful attempts at a mobile radio system we decided on direct contact. We gained access to the main squares of Comiso and Vittoria for the three days and setup loudhailers, amplifiers and bookstalls with the aim of constantly informing the local people of what was happening around the base.

Other actions were also discussed. It was essential, we all agreed, to avoid a head on clash with police. Being completely outnumbered, it would be impossible for us to keep the struggle going for three days. So, a number of things had to be done. Get material to as near to the base as possible, cut the fence around the base at various points, and carry out minor diversive actions at various points around the perimeter on the first day. This would also test the police's operational capabilities. Actions were carried out, and the police seldom managed to locate the groups involved. Even the local press pointed out the difficulties the police were having for the first time concerning the base at Comiso.

The group in front of the airport were there to meet the local people who came out of interest or curiosity, and some comrades from the Coordinamento who were known locally were present in Comiso and Vittoria as had been decided at the affinity groups' meeting.

From dawn on the first day we realised we'd made a serious mistake in not having specifically asked comrades to arrive a few days earlier to discuss the organisational aspect. It would have been useful to have a conference somewhere earlier in the year – as proposed at the Leagues' general assembly and rejected by four comrades.

People kept arriving until late in the afternoon of the 22nd and were told of the *m* affinity groups, but many didn't understand the situation. Some considered affinity groups "not anarchist" and that everything should be decided at a general assembly.

At the end of the first day there was a call for such an assembly. Many were confused – where were the masses? If they couldn't turn up, we might as well all go home. Many were

asking what should be done.

We made it clear that all operative decisions would be made at a restricted meeting of affinity group representatives after the general assembly. Some said that the occupation was no longer possible in their opinion and that we might as well withdraw into minor actions and proposed the absurd alternative of occupying the town hall or the local employment office. Another made this his moment to criticise not only the idea of occupation but the whole of our work up til then, suggesting, to the astonishment and hilarity of those present, the formation of an antimilitarist structure at national level!

Confusion grew. Criticisms of the affinity groups' decisions abounded. Some maintained that everyone should be in front of the airport. Others questioned the method of affinity groups itself. The meeting, held in the public park (taken over by the Leagues as a camp site for these three days), ended in the early hours of the morning with the proposal to carry on discussing later at around 9am. Imagine! For the second day of struggle the only decision was to carry on *talking*. This had an immediate and disastrous effect. Many people who were in contact with us, engaged to do something against the base, declared they no longer intended to go ahead in the face of so much discussion and argument. Some stayed until the second day, and some were even present in the demonstration that was charged by the police but only as passive observers.

Another example of the effect of this inability to reach a common basis for action was that three affinity groups, German, Dutch, and French – that had organised to sabotage the generator of the base and had already taken the necessary material to nearby points and were going to divide into groups to carry out diversive actions while another would go through the fence and work on the generator – faced with the pitiful spectacle of the general assembly, declared they were no longer prepared to listen to such chatter and left. They'd already spent two weeks at the Peace Camp where they'd been subjected to endless discussions on pacifism.

We're not saying that a decisive attack was ruined but are pointing out how, from mistakes,

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incomprehension, lack of confidence, and conflicting political tendencies, no good ever comes.

So, in the face of such indecision, the affinity groups' meeting could not take place as there was no common ground to start from, and because even the very idea of occupation had been put in question. Meanwhile the police were preparing.

For the comrades of the Coordinamento, we knew what we had to do. The struggle to bring about the occupation had failed, therefore it was necessary to put an end to the whole intervention. There was no point in carrying out a symbolic action just to show that the anarchists were there. We had failed to do what we had set out to do because of our inability to continue what had been begun with the affinity groups. But the absence of an immediate response from the people of Comiso was also a factor. We did not discuss any of the original operative proposals at the affinity groups' meeting that followed. Strangely enough, at this meeting, those who had had most to say at the general assembly.

It was at this point that the punk comrades decided on a spontaneous demonstration to Comiso and the airport. We were against it for various reasons. Especially because it corresponded to all the things we had maintained shouldn't be done at Comiso—direct confrontation with the police (this time inevitable as the demonstration was unauthorised), a symbolic gesture with no practical effect, no possibility of involving the local people.

However, we all participated in the demonstration, going through Comiso to the airport. The rest is a chronicle of repression. As soon as the sun went down the police and carabinieri sent up flares and charged the peaceful crowd of demonstrators who had long given up chanting slogans. Comrades ran to escape through the vineyards. Many were caught and beaten savagely. Some were stopped at road blocks and beaten, their vehicles smashed. Many were wounded. Six ended up in hospital.

In spite of all the mistakes and our individual and collective limitations we claim responsibility

for the whole intervention at Comiso including the three final days. The insurrectionalist method applied in the antimilitarist struggle in Comiso was insufficient. Many elements prevented its correct and extended application. Both the negative and the positive aspects could not be seen clearly but only perceived piecemeal, often in a contradictory and superficial way.

We think this method could be applied in other struggles. That is why we have related this experience, and are asking comrades to reflect upon it and consider its application possible in another situation during other struggles. Naturally, we claim our involvement in the Comiso struggle beyond questions of method as we have always been against the missile base, armaments, and armies. As convinced antimilitarists and anarchist revolutionaries we are against every kind of war, all war armaments, all forms of State terrorism. But we are not for simple declarations of principle: we are not for social peace, we are for the class war and therefore for us the struggle has just begun.

A few comrades

## Street Politics in Barcelona

Barcelona, on the north-east mediterranean coast of Spain, is the capital of Catalonia, a region occupied by the Castilians in 1715, which nonetheless still retains its own language (Catalan, spoken by 7 million people as their first language) and its own customs.

For the last thousand years Barcelona has been the hub of all radical movements in Spain, from anarchism to surrealism, and has consistently been the meeting place for the disillusioned and oppressed of the peninsula. It has resisted, in turn, the rule of the Pope, the laws of the Inquisition, the encroachments of assorted Spanish kings and queens, military conscription (1905) and fascist takeovers (1936). It has spawned a vast libertarian movement claiming its local identity, and remains the HQ of the largest anarchist trade union (the CNT).

The atmosphere there is heavy with political tension, 24 hours a day. It is the kind of atmosphere in which anything can happen, and

where everyone may join in. For example on the first Catalan national day which was allowed to be celebrated (1977, a year after Franco's death) *two million* people swamped Barcelona, Catalan anarchists, socialists, feminists, communists, nationalists, war veterans, and there were Gicians, Andalucians, Basques there as well because it was an open day of celebration and protest, the largest popular demonstration since the end-of-war festivities in Paris. The police were terrified by the numbers and could do nothing until the crowds thinned out, when they went about their traditional shooting and beating (this time, at least, they had *rubber* bullets. That one I only saw in photos though that was impressive enough. But it was at first hand that I felt how powerful even a small action could become. It was the winter of 1978, in Barcelona's Picadilly Circus (the Placa de Catalunya, where all the buses congregate). Twelve young anarchists—the oldest was about seventeen—slashed the tyres of the stationary buses, effectively blocking off the whole square. Traffic came to a standstill, crowds gathered. Jumping in and out of the subway entrances the anarchists yelled "Freedom!" "Long live Catalonia!" "Anarquia!" while onlookers added further shouts. It was as if the whole area had suddenly been mobilised—large groups of people came running in flooding the square.

The group I was in went into the subway, chanting and hand-clapping, as the police moved in, about a hundred of them carrying rubber bullet guns firing shots repeatedly into the air, some of them wielding batons (one middle-aged man was suddenly jumped impulsively by a copper wearing dark glasses and mouth-smoking a cigarette. He was repeatedly beaten around the head and shoulders—he had been calmly watching events—until he ran away); then there was a cry of "to the tables!" because the police began to arrest everyone who wasn't in the cafes. About a hundred and fifty people got pulled in. We slipped round the side and began walking quickly down the Ramblas where small groups of armed police were standing around. In front of them some people were openly passing joints around, and an Indian woman was showing her vagina in a drunken dance to a couple of toothless old men for money.

It was a tiny demonstration, but one which almost developed into a full-fledged outbreak of popular feeling. Why? Because there *was* popular feeling! Almost everyone was on the side of "the disrupters" and acted accordingly. And it was started by twelve people.

The last demonstration I was on, the marchers got enraged by the sight of a Spanish flag hanging from the front of the *Banc de Barcelona*. Someone with a scarf round his face cut it down, a huge crowd gathered round it and a twelve year old poured petrol on it and set it alight while the others sang. What I am getting at is not that these demonstrations were of any particular importance in themselves, but that they showed the *possibilities* in a situation where the vast majority were in favour of rather than against the actions. And moments like the above are the rule rather than the exception in Barcelona.

An especially impressive example is the resistance of the CNT when two of its members were sacked from a supermarket belonging to the *Carrefour* chain in Barcelona; they were the only two CNT affiliates in that particular store, and what a coincidence that they were both sacked on more than flimsy excuses (they had had CNT literature on them—the CNT was not recognised by the company) The CNT did what they could to boycott the supermarket in question: stink bombs, leaflets, barricades on the entrances, spiking cars parked outside, and this not only in Barcelona but all over the Spanish State wherever *Carrefour* had branches. Finally the judge in the case declared the sackings illegal and the two were reinstated. Carrefour now accepts the CNT as a legitimate union. It was a reminder that a union is not what the government and management accepts to be such but what the members make it.

In Spain under Franco every movement concerned with greater freedom of working people (peasants and unemployed included) was unofficial, with the result that many Spaniards now are not obsessed with legality in the way people are here. Every time we walk like sheep past South Africa House or the Russian Embassy or a bunch of polished wallies [?] setting up phony slogans in Whitehall to taunt antinuclear marchers, I think of Barcelona, where action was instant, natural, brave.

Issue 2

September 1984

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## Communiqué

On July 21, while working in the Ardèche in the South of France, anarchist comrade Orazio Valastro was kidnapped by three individuals in plain clothes qualifying themselves as policemen, in the town of Privas (about 100 miles from Lyons).

He was taken by car to open countryside where he was beaten and threatened with death if he refused to collaborate with the police by infiltrating presumed armed groups which exist in Paris according to the police.

Orazio was also offered financial reward. Moreover, he was questioned about the groups Action Directe and the COLP.

Orazio naturally refused to collaborate with the police in any way, nor did he say anything about the groups, which he knows nothing about.

On July 25 there was a phone call to Orazio's house asking for his reply, and death threats were repeated in the case of his refusing to collaborate.

Immediately after the event, Orazio denounced it to the judiciary. The case is now in the hands of Juge Borel, Privas.

We must do everything we can to defend our comrade, and to denounce the incredible machination the police are trying to bring about to his cost.

ORAZIO VALASTRO, remember, was the anarchist comrade who deserted the army in Italy, and was sentenced by a military tribunal to five month's prison for having refused, as an anarchist, to do military service. He had been living in exile in France for the past two years.

Comrades and friends of Orazio Valastro

Protests against this absurd and extremely dangerous act of intimidation can be made to:

Substitut Procureur de la République,

Juge BOREL,

ParquS de Privas,

PRIVAS, Ardèche, France.

(tel. 75/642044)

French Consulate General,

24 Rutland Gate, LONDON SW7

(tel 01/581 5292)

## The Whole and the Part

There can be no doubt about the fact that society is divided into opposing classes. The difference between those who enforce exploitation and those who suffer it is radical and irreconcilable.

Of course, there are various levels of participation in both classes. Not only the dominators, but also those faced with the perspective of exploitation are responsible to varying degrees, according to how much they consent to its continuation.

What interests us here, however, is the relationship between the *exploited as a whole*, and the part, or *specific minority* of the same.

This is not just a question of definition. Much confusion arises from misuse of the terms, or from expecting certain behaviour or events to take place that have no basis for doing so. THE EXPLOITED AS A WHOLE do not have a precise identity. Often seen as the industrial proletariat, they also include farm labourers, and the unwaged strata known as the lumpen proletariat.

Temporary workers and those in the services sectors (transport, commerce, exchange, schools, the cultural industry) as well as low level clerical workers, also go towards making up this whole.

Its characteristics are extremely fluid, and can in no way be a fixed point of reference for the aims of revolutionary action.

Nor is it possible to identify one *substantial part* of it, ie a precise class constituting a point of reference for the rest. Any attempt to do this is based on a particular political bias, usually that of the party and the quantitative illusion (ie industrial workers leading the proletariat, or lumpenproletariat driving force of the revolution).

The dominant characteristic of the whole in question is its *unionist consciousness*. This both regulates it and limits it.

Over a long period this whole has outbursts of *self-organisation* which has the effect, among other things, of nullifying attempts by the various parts to take it over. Basically, the unionist consciousness is transient and limited to short-term interests.

THE SPECIFIC MINORITY is a part of the exploited, and there are various kinds within this whole. Some have an *ethnic basis*. For example, the blacks in America, although they have their spokesmen among the dominant classes, are largely contained within the exploited and constitute a *specific minority*. The same, with different characteristics, goes for the Irish, the Basques, the Corsicans, Palestinians, etc.

At other times the minority has a *sexual basis*, as in the case of women. Other times again it corresponds to a particular attitude towards dominant moral codes, as in the case of *homosexuals*.

These minorities define themselves through selective mechanisms that are imposed by the ruling class, and which are accepted by the rest of the exploited.

These are: a specific *culture* (often referred to as *sub-culture*); subordination to the production process; considerable presence in the lower levels of social organisations; a very limited presence in the professional sectors, the media and higher education; ghetto sentiment, and so on.

This kind of minority has little mobility into higher or lower social strata. It tends to remain fairly stable, or at least stable enough to maintain a certain equilibrium. Cultural

osmosis is kept to a minimum, just enough to guarantee control by the enemy over the behaviour of the minority, and to eliminate possible 'deviant' demands.

### The Revolutionary Movement

—This is not a minority in the sense we have been speaking of. It is an *active minority* and as such is also specific. It is characterised by its level of *self-awareness*, which usually goes beyond unionist levels to prepare for action in two successive levels: the *party* (or quantitative level), and the *social* (or self-organisational) level.

The revolutionary movement usually contains all three of these levels (union, party and self-organising), and they are often interwoven, making clear distinctions difficult.

Even anarchists, who by definition support the third and highest level, of revolutionary awareness, have not failed to acknowledge unionist and party levels, although criticism has nearly always prevailed and the struggle been redressed.

The fact is that the revolutionary movement is partly a direct and indirect result of social and cultural changes that are constantly taking place within society: the forces of production, class composition, etc.

### The Specific Anarchist Organisation

—Putting aside trade unions (and anarcho-syndicalism), and parties, a third specific solution remains: that of the anarchist group, or the coordination of various groups.

This becomes the basic instrument for the spreading of ideas and actions necessary for the social changes we want to bring about: the final destruction of today's order that is based on exploitation.

We can see then, that the specific organisation is part of the revolutionary movement, therefore also of the exploited as a whole. Through it and its level of consciousness, elements who had been a part of the dominant class can abandon their origins, and join in the struggle of the exploited against the class enemy.

## Strategy & Methods

Exploitation is at the basis of the capitalist system. Without a terroristic dictatorship based on poverty, fear, and death by a few over the many, capital's dominion would come to an end.

This determines the class struggle. Although they seem to adapt and compromise, the exploited are constantly on the defensive and ready. They follow the enemy's difficulties with interest, regard their traitors (who call themselves their defenders) with suspicion, and wait for the best moment to rise up and insurge.

The social clash alternates between acute confrontation and quieter spells. New theories and practices are developed that are never a simple repeat of what has gone before. Each historic moment produces new opposing sides: new bosses, new traitors, new exploited, new strategies of attack against exploitation, new attempts at repression.

Roughly speaking, we can say capital is moving from repression through use of the economic apparatus to using the political one. In the past, in happier times for capital, wide strata of the population were prepared to offer themselves in exchange for a wage, so everything was left to illusions of self-regulating market forces. As these strata diminished, with a consequent rise in the cost of labour, or when social pressure forced employment to grow out of all proportion, the system's automatic margins of equilibrium are reduced and it goes towards more overtly political and repressive strategies. The State intervenes massively to regulate both the economic and social process.

Troubles become acute, the police becoming the cardinal element in maintaining social order, with the army waiting in the wings.

The exploited's strategy also passes from a trade-union type of organising – corresponding to the free market phase of capital – to a more disjointed procedure, apparently uncertain and contradictory, but which is lively and creative and more amenable to self organisation. This process heightens the level of the struggle, possibly even allowing the use of armed struggle.

It should not seem contradictory that the exploited respond to the State's attempts at enforced order with creativity and self-organisation. Increasing repression triggers off many mechanisms, one of them precisely that of heightening the level of the social clash. Moreover, this comes as a result of deteriorating conditions where large wageless strata are no longer waiting patiently to enter the world of production, even at starvation wages. Hopes of better times, more consumer goods and better wages are far more effective reins than police or army.

### *Repressive Strategies and Methods*

*Strategies* are the choice of certain methods that are applied in the social clash. *Methods* are stable and well-defined procedures, so much so that they cannot be changed, at least within the present framework of exploitation.

Whereas strategies are linked to short-term conditions and must constantly be up-dated, modified, discussed and, when necessary, declared unsuitable; methods are fixed, guaranteeing a continuity that characterises the struggle on both fronts. Strategies are constantly changing in the clash between classes, but the methods used remain the same.

As we have seen, capital uses different strategies at different moments: it goes from a free-market logic to nationalised production, mixes increased productivity with less military repression and vice versa. Sometimes it intensifies consumerism, at others it reduces it, using monetary mechanisms instead of taxation. At still other times it uses overt repression, establishing a closed regime using nationalistic puppet politicians and uniformed torturers to eliminate all dissent in bloodshed.

But all these strategies are based on four basic methods:

#### *Information controlled by the power structure*

This is not only the work of the media, but also of everything that appears to be based on consultation with the people: elections, choice of work, choice of culture, use of free time, consumerism, political opinions, scale of ethical values, etc.

*Differentiated education of the various social classes*  
Not just a question of schooling, this is a

continuing process.

It is the method that corroborates and instills controlled information that would otherwise disappear into a void. A series of coordinated processes that produce and confirm ethical values, they are often applied at mass level, but are sometimes restricted to a minority.

#### *Political and social reforms*

Any one of power's single projects must be seen as part of a constantly changing whole.

Even the most tyrannical regimes of the past moved towards adjusting and compromising with the oppressed. Absolute repression is a myth, an ideal that no reigning power can maintain for long. A mixture of pure repression and reformist compromise is always preferred. Modern democracies have gone a long way in this direction.

#### *Terroristic repression of any behaviour deviating from the established norm*

It goes from social condemnation to organised terror by police, army, courts, prisons, etc, against anyone who tries to regain what has been taken from him. In the latter case the State will use either specific organisations (police, secret services, army, etc); organisations designated to other activities, but which carry out terrorist duties when required (trades unions, parties, political movements, schools, hospitals, cultural structures, newspapers, television, etc) or specifically terrorist organisations created by the State itself, drawing from the army, police, judiciary, extreme right political movements, professional killers, organised crime syndicates, etc.

It should be said here that any one of these methods does not exclude another, but that they are all applied at the same time with interesting results. Think, for example, of the effect the development of information, is having on the educational process. 'Informatics' are still very much in the air. Basically, as we have said, repression is intensified when the other two methods show signs of slowing up and becoming inefficient. The inverse process, a reduction in State terrorism, tends to be slow as the organisations and mentalities whose usual methods are those of violence, torture and murder, tend to die hard.

### *Revolutionary Strategies and Methods*

The difference between strategies and methods is constant, as it is a question of the forms of action man possesses. Whether policeman or revolutionary, cannot avoid studying the strategically different application of some basic methods.

Strategies are directly related to the conditions of the social clash at a given moment, not simply a consequence of it. The revolutionary is constantly trying to act on reality, to penetrate it and change it with his actions. But these actions, if they are to go beyond the field of illusion, must take account of the level the clash is at.

When the level of the clash is low, with wide strata of the proletariat excluded from wage-earning and capital abandons itself to irrational market forces, the revolutionary strategy will be that of strengthening the movement, penetrating the various sectors of the world of work and unemployment among workers, housewives, labourers, and students.

At a higher level, capital begins to show signs of instability. The State intervenes heavily to rectify an intolerable situation created by the capitalists' inability to manage the economy. The State's terroristic repression increases, along with lack of work and wellbeing. Here the revolutionary strategy will go towards intensifying armed attack, therefore to a progressive growth and qualifying of clandestine armed organisations.

Between these two directions—which do not contradict but support each other and interact with considerable force—there is a whole series of strategic choices. They show the profound differences existing within the revolutionary movement: the anarchist tendency towards *quality* of the struggle and its *self-organisation* and the authoritarian tendency towards *quantity* and *centralisation*.

The methods at the basis of the various revolutionary strategies can be divided as follows.

#### *Free information*

keeping to events as they are, without political or ideological deformation. Of course this is often an impossible ideal, but the method of informing must strive towards this, transmitting real events as far as possible, making situations

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known that would otherwise be distorted by the information controlled by power.

#### *Theories about conditions of the social clash*

analyze events focusing on facts and putting them in a wider context. This second methodological stage serves to make information more comprehensible, make it talk, seizing it from the dumb context of the criminally false news circulated by power.

#### *Intermediate struggle*

where revolutionaries intervene in particular aspects of the social conflict: schools, factories, housing estates, the land. Taken individually, each struggle risks becoming reabsorbed and often contributes to strengthening exploitation by rectifying some of its irrational aspects. Although it is partial and circumscribed, information and theory can be understood by proletarians during these moments.

Things would remain at a purely theoretical and meaningless level otherwise. It is in the struggle itself, even the limited one in defense of rights or already existing conquests, that we prepare for a possible heightening of the clash.

#### *Armed struggle*

employs the method of violent attack against the State, its organisations and structures, its men, wealth, and projects. The fact that this method is often part of strategies at higher levels of the social clash does not mean that it is a higher, or more efficient, or more revolutionary method of struggle than others. It is a different method, with its own characteristics, limitations and qualities, but which cannot be placed in a hypothetical scale of revolutionary values. One level of consciousness pushes a proletarian to hand out a leaflet in front of a factory, another to arm himself to take back what has been taken from him, or to shoot a policeman or judge. Another again pushes him to attack a factory, sabotage its production and damage stocks. Still another will make him associate with others in the same situation, men and women conscious of the need to come together to work out an attack against the class enemy.

No one of these methods excludes the other. On the contrary, they interpenetrate and support each other. It is therefore never possible to positively identify one precise moment where a given method should be used. They

are used together and bear fruit according to the limits and perspectives of the various strategies they are applied in.

#### The Problem of Strategy

A strategy of attack is of little importance for the dreamers of revolution. There exists an illusion that truth will triumph in the end, so, like the Christian martyrs one marches onwards, holding high the torch of ideological purity, but often remaining very far from the reality of things.

In actual fact, the proletarians and exploited in general, the lumpenproletarian strata who undergo very acute levels of oppression, do not have clear ideas. The equation exploitation/clarity is not at all true. One can live one's whole life in chains, dragging them along, and still believe one has lived thanks to them rather than in spite of them. This point cannot be overstressed.

Information on its own is not enough. Struggles must be developed, both in the intermediate and long term. Clear strategies are necessary to allow different methods to be used in a coordinated and fruitful way.

As anarchists we are pursuing a qualitative growth in the movement, and support its self-organisation. We distinguish ourselves in this from the authoritarians and stalinists who supports massively quantitative growth based on total control and 'democratic' centralisation. But not for this can we wait till infinity for the people to organise with their quality and creativity. We must act more directly, moving as a specific minority. This means taking on the task of carrying out actions that the exploited, at a certain level of the class struggle, cannot develop on their own. If we fail to do this we will simply end up consigning ourselves into the hands of the stalinists, and the proletariat along with us.

Let us give a few examples.

*When setting out information we must adhere to reality as clearly as possible in order to avoid any ideological re-elaboration.*

We cannot expect the exploited to act immediately on reading our information, putting it to their own spontaneous use. We would be heading straight for failure, and end

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up circulating a horrible mixture of platitudes and meaningless generalisations.

We should apply a revolutionary critique to contributions to our publications, so as to place them within our strategy more coherently. Our work will never be purely 'objective' without denying itself as information.

*We must force ourselves to see things as they are, not how we would like them to be.*

Our innate love for utopia—of great nobility and sentimentality—must take second place in the face of the need for analyses based on reality. To do this, or even to simply understand it when it is done by other comrades, we must provide ourselves with some basic instruments. We might as well limit ourselves to pub talk if we don't possess some basic awareness (and perhaps a bit more than that) of economics.

The point blank refusal to widen our study of certain instruments such as economics, history, philosophy, state administration, public finance, etc, is based on a mistaken interpretation of the anarchist concept of destruction.

*Anarchists are often reluctant to involve themselves in intermediate struggles.*

Their basic purity causes them to have nightmares. They imagine being compromised with other not always 'clean' political forces, and of not being able to compete with them at the level of intermediate claims or political sophistry. This blocks many initiatives at the simple stage of information. In so doing we are showing lack of faith in the great clarity of the anarchist discourse, which demonstrates the need to refuse delegation of the struggle. Then they are surprised and almost disdainful about the fact that proletarians do not have clear ideas, fail to understand why they should not delegate their struggle to others, and continue to be conned by the professional politicians. This tragicomic situation often becomes clear in public debates, conferences, and demonstrations that have been organised together with the forces of the more or less revolutionary left. The anarchists start off with great gusto, go all out to organise demonstrations, work out their own information with great precision and clarity (through leaflets, posters, talks, conferences, etc), then reach a mental block. They abandon the political man-

agement of the movement to other forces. It is usually these forces that exploit the anarchists' great propagandistic energy and manipulate the media, implying they are the only ones capable of doing anything against power.

The anarchists, in the meantime, have returned to their own groups and are asking themselves how on earth, yet again, they have failed to prevent a political take-over of their initiatives. At the same time they remain prepared and available for any future requests of collaboration.

We cannot stop half way in these things. Once begun, we must continue to prevent attempts at being taken over, even using political means. After all, we too can intervene before the stalinists take over. And we too, especially when we are among the organisers of the demonstration, can get particular motions passed at the end of the conference or meeting without feeling more 'dirty' or compromised than when we set out to work with other left political groups. To brush these problems aside, considering them unimportant or pointless compromise, we risk losing the fruits of the intermediate work and of appearing to the proletariat as comrades who are there purely by accident, alongside other political factions that are far more organised than ourselves. This gives the exploited the idea that party leadership is indispensable, the stalinists are given a hand in their grim quantitative work, and what we had tried to build at the start is lost.

There is no need to be afraid of dirtying our hands by using methods of intermediate struggles, so long as the aims of anarchists remain clear throughout, showing up the tricks of the professional politicians and the risks of authoritarianism. This can be achieved to a certain extent by not backing out of arguments with the authoritarian political sharks.

*In clandestine armed struggle things cannot be left to improvisation or to the spontaneity of individuals or very small groups.*

This method is extremely articulate and lends itself to applications of great strategic importance along with the intervention of other methods. From sabotage and the actions of individuals or very small autonomous groups, quite wide levels can be reached, capable of drawing in dozens of groups and hundreds of

comrades. It is important to note here that the qualitative development of armed revolutionary action comes into contrast with some of its indispensable quantitative needs. A few comrades cannot do much, but it is a mistake to think that a simple growth in numbers gives rise to a correct use of armed struggle as a method. Generally, what is being looked for at the organisational stage is the creative development of ideas, theories, analyses, interpersonal relations, actions, contacts with the outside, and a spreading of the strategic project. An increase in numbers follows afterwards, and in turn will have a considerable effect on the quality of the organisation. One should not go too far in either direction: neither thinking purely in terms of number, nor going to the other extreme, believing that quality is the only thing that counts. This apparent contradiction only exists when the method is seen as something immediate and circumscribed, instead of being seen in the long term.

Certain aspects of armed struggle can also be used in the intermediate stage, that of information. At this point it will not be likely to spread, but to accentuate the information itself. The 'angle' one gives to this is important. Not being 'mealy mouthed', saying things clearly, and backing them up with 'harder' forms of intervention, can stimulate an awakening of consciousness, and is a creative contribution to a quantitative growth in the future.

Alfredo M. Bonanno

## The Question of the Miners

For a capitalist country such as Britain to be shaken every now and again by huge strikes in the nerve centres of its economy is quite a normal matter, and in fact helps to correct the production process.

We well know that economic crises are not the exception in a country's particular situation, but that they are the rule by which the process of capitalism regulates itself.

Through a crisis, certain important results are obtained by power: it puts its own house in order, and implements a restructuring of

production relations.

The workers' lines are weakened, especially when so-called trade union 'combativeness' is drawn out over a long period. The bosses find plenty of excuses for introducing privatisation, relaunching archaic systems of exploitation ('black work,' etc), and stepping up production, more efficient controls and generally safeguarding their interests.

On the other hand, trade union combat as seen today in the miners' strike, for example, does not heighten the conflict, because it always remains under the control of the trade union leaders who, by confronting the police (as though this comic opera style heroism were the ultimate in extremism), bedeck themselves with new medals as the defenders of the working class.

We must therefore conclude that a strike such as this sets out from the very start on a reactionary basis, and is carried out using methods that plagiarise direct action, as they are rarely spontaneous, and *always* remain under the control of the trade union leadership.

How, as anarchists, should we act?

By doing everything we can so that the bosses' and union leaders' accounts don't tally.

Their project is that of weakening the working class. Not only Madame Thatcher, but also Mr Scargill. It is important to understand this.

A working class exhausted by the long and unproductive effort that has been going on for months will be more malleable to both Thatcher and Mr Scargill for the future restructuring this country's productive system—which it must be said isn't going too well at the moment—requires.

But the game remains an extremely dangerous one. Important variables could emerge to thwart the reactionary project on the Scargill/Thatcher front.

The ever present possibility of things going beyond the trade union leaders' control, or of the government tightening the rope too far.

For example, the miners are not being paid. That must be averted one way or another. The unions are trying to do something, and when they fail, the government *must* intervene (directly or indirectly) to supply the necessary

funds. They cannot allow themselves to *really* starve the workers.

If that happened, they would no longer be controllable, and would go towards forms of struggle far more serious than the banal blockades in front of the mines and steelworks, or the equally banal clashes with the police.

This is the way things have always been. During the Paris Commune, Baron Rothschild gave 1,000,000 gold marks to the Commune to guarantee and defend the Bank of France from possible assaults by the starving people. And so-called revolutionaries are always ready to fall into such traps.

Today, even anarchist groups are quite happily busying themselves collecting funds to help the starving workers, while it is quite obvious that our interests cannot be the same as those of Mr Scargill (preventing the "degeneration of the struggle"), nor parallel to that of Mrs Thatcher (to control the struggle so that it doesn't go beyond the point of "no return").

*They* can permit themselves to have collections or to send money to the workers 'under the counter'. Not us.

*For us the radicalisation of the struggle is a positive fact.* If the workers don't eat there will be two positive results: the clash will quickly come to a head, and it will immediately become obvious which side the trade union leaders (whose actions are even being supported by some anarchists) are on.

That is why we are against collections, which are the stuff of the Salvation Army.

The revolutionary concept of solidarity with workers in struggle has always been intended differently – radically differently.

Revolutionary solidarity consists of two things – information, not a simple echoing of the media or trade union papers recounting the fact that the strike is going on (which everybody knows), defending one 'side' in what is a global project to save capital's economy through use of government (including the 'shadow' one) and unions. But real information, denouncing this reactionary project and reporting the actions that go beyond this logic of control.

Secondly, revolutionary solidarity consists in striking the enemies of the workers in

struggle, their interests, their practical realisations, their people.

Any other form of solidarity is simply hypocrisy and guilty conscience.

If we are not capable of organising revolutionary solidarity as it has always been intended, it is useless (and even harmful) to have recourse to contributions and such kinds of support. One only turns the knife in the wound of those who are carrying on a struggle they are paying for in first person.

One becomes a collaborator of those in power.

## New Forms of Counter-Revolution

At a certain point in their development, capital and the State succeed in rationalising exploitation.

That is what is happening at the present time to a certain extent. Pure and simple repression is giving way to "being involved."

It is important to study these new forms of repression so as not to remain tied to out-of-date forms of revolutionary activity.

These not entirely new forms of involvement are now being developed in more original and highly dangerous ways.

The permissive State, although it still uses dissuasion (for example police and army), has a tendency towards dialogue, allowing a certain amount of freedom of movement and self-regulation, so that everyone is controllable at all levels.

In this way the counter-revolutionary role of so-called dissent is very important to maintaining order and continuing exploitation. Both the bosses and their servants are depending more and more on these forms of recuperation, in preference to pure repression by armed forces, although they remain the ultimate element in convincing and repressing.

So the State is asking the revolutionary movement to collaborate in maintaining social peace.

Comrades shouldn't jump back in horror at

such a statement. The State can ask what it wants, it is up to us to understand whether we are being drawn into a maneuvered consensus, or whether our dissent still has an element of rupture. The State's projects are continually being updated.

One moment they are putting up a wall of repression, the next they are softer: decodifying behaviour that was once condemned and persecuted. The State and capital have no moral code of conduct. They adapt according to the Machiavellian thesis of using the brute force of the lion one day and the cunning of the fox the next.

Today might well be the moment of the fox's velvet paw.

One thing that is extremely useful to the present situation, giving capital's restructuring an aspect of a spontaneous process of adjusting, is the massive presence of 'dissent'. We must say "no." They are putting through anti-union laws, we must say "no." They are putting missiles at Greenham Common, we must say "no." They are subsidising the bosses at the cost of the poorest in society, we must say "no." They are building more and more prisons with special wings all over the country, we must say "no."

This "no" must be shouted aloud, not be a simple whisper of platonic dissent.

It mustn't pass over into direct action, but must simply remain a Minority demonstration of disagreement. It is then up to the same government forces to explain the practical impossibility of such a choice, which is based nevertheless on the 'highest moral values.' As good a way as any to make a fool of people, to extinguish their potential aggressivity constantly in accumulation, so as to direct this impetus of rebellion towards activities that are dissent in appearance alone, and are in fact counter-revolutionary in every aspect.

This is what is being asked of the peace movement, and that is what they are supplying. Pacifism itself, as an ideology, lends itself to being exploited for the production of social peace. An indigestible mixture of Christian sacrifice and millenarian fideism, it is much appreciated by the State as a means of involvement. Even peace demonstrations that

comrades are so impressed by, are an element that is much appreciated in the spectacular framework of exploitation. The fact that these demonstrations are innocuous has nothing to do with whether or not there are clashes with the police, they are recuperated on all sides because of their irregularity and passivity as far as the State is concerned, and because of their basic lack of ideology as far as the peace movement is concerned.

These new priests, clutching at the altar of their own sacrifice, are incomprehensible to people who would like to participate in struggles, but who not for that are prepared to abdicate their patrimony of violent attack against the State. This is what the State puts its trust in, their "lack of understanding," allowing demonstrations that are forbidden to others, but intervening immediately when any signs of an outside presence appear within pacifist organisations.

The same can be said for trade union struggles, even autonomous ones, 'self-managed' ones, or those carried out under the leadership of the few anarcho-syndicalist organisations. The State is also asking them for the maintenance of social peace. Their ineffectiveness is the guarantee of their possibility of continuing. Revolutionary ineffectiveness immediately transformable into complying with the State's counter-revolutionary requests. Their function today is that of lending credibility to the restructuring process that is taking place, at least in the most sensitive areas, extinguishing dangerous attempts at isolated actions of attack totally in discord with any kind of trade union representation.

The old criticisms of trade unionism (and revolutionary syndicalism) are all the more meaningful today in view of the new request that is being made of them to participate in maintaining social peace. The State will listen to trade union demands, and; in the next few years, almost certainly to those of the microscopic anarcho-syndicalist centres. What it wants in exchange is the control of the minority groups who do not accept the logic of claiming.

It wants control over the revolutionary movement. It is in the logic of syndicalism to

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accept this exchange. Otherwise it would mean throwing the syndicalist organisation and all half-way demands to the winds to return to autonomous nuclei, permanent conflictuality, and so to the real struggle.

In this sense we should look more carefully at the function the CNT has had in Spain over the past few years, its present situation and future perspectives.

Concerning supposedly attacking syndicalism, we should look more closely at the repression function of Solidarity in Poland, how spontaneous attempts to attack constituted order starting from the factories were repressed from the very start.

In the same way, we need documentation on the counter-revolutionary role of the movement of the new communes, the vegetarian and ecology movements, the anti-psychiatry movements and all the tendencies that are trying to split up the real contrast with power, or are trying to reduce it to simple, platonic, and formal dissent.

For example there exists an antiracism that borders on racism itself. A privileged series of peoples are put in an exclusively positive light which ends up drawing in—often without their realising it—the warmongering and racist politics of the governments acting in their name. Many decisions made by the Israeli State, for example, claiming to represent the Jewish people, are themselves racist and genocidal. So the classical positions of anti-racism become instrumental to new forms of racism, opening the road to a repression that is considered inevitable.

We can also consider all forms of strictly formal dissent and all attempts to divide the class conflict into a multitude of sectors, as being functional to power. This is exactly what the couple of capital and State want to happen.

Many comrades in good faith fall prey to this contradiction.

The best of them, those really in good faith, are only misinformed, or simply stupid due to lack of analytical clarity. They are the ones who limit themselves to great declarations of principle against nuclear weapons, or are abstentionists every time the elections come around, or hand out leaflets against special

prisons, then return to their holes and wait for the next time to repeat the sacralised ritual of the eternally obvious.

The worst, those in bad faith, are the sceptics who have lost their enthusiasm of times past and now understand everything about life; and the ambitious ones trying to get a little allotment of power on which to seminate their swindles. On the one hand the super-intelligent who look down on those who limit themselves to carrying on with the struggle; on the other those who are advancing their careers by kissing the hands of the labour party or the arses of the dissenting church. The nausea that overcomes us on seeing the first equals only that which we feel on seeing the second at work. There are many ways of gazing at one's navel or furthering one's career, but these are among the worst.

We shall try to oppose the advancing counter-revolution with our modest strength. First of all with analytical clarity.

It is time to put an end to uncertainty or shyness. It is time to come out and say things clearly and without half measures. Beautiful declarations of principle are no longer enough, in fact they have become goods of trade for power. We must engage seriously in a struggle to the end, an organised and efficient struggle which has a revolutionary project and is capable of singling out its objectives and means. We might find that the dissection of mummies is no longer an interesting operation. The sun of the future will not rise from the old hills. We must decide to look to where the class struggle is really leading.

The article which follows, "Interview in Segovia Prison" and others that we shall publish in future issues of this paper should be seen in this perspective, one that we consider to be of primary importance. Although limited and insufficient, they open the way to a critique that should be of interest to all revolutionaries.

In our next issue we shall be looking more closely at the role of the peace movement today and some of its limitations. In so doing we hope a debate will develop on these problems that are becoming increasingly urgent.

# Interview from Segovia Prison with the Autonomous Groups

October 1979

*On the problem of armed struggle; the reactionary function of the CNT; and possible future developments of the anti-capitalist struggle. By the comrades of the 'Spanish Federation of Anarchist Groups' (F.I.G.A.)*

*What do you mean by "Autonomous Groups" and what, in the last analysis, is your ideological position?*

Before anything else, we must point out that we don't represent the whole of Autonomy, but only ourselves, through our own experiences. We consider ourselves to belong to the area of Autonomy.

Up until the Spanish State murdered Salvador Puig Antich in March 1974, people who were acting independently, rejecting parties and trades unions and called autonomous in certain circles, had not yet worked out wider coordination to obtain greater effects. Around the time of this murder there was an unleashing of armed actions which brought with them a project of coordination with other groups of a similar character in the Madrid area.

As far as Barcelona is concerned, at the end of 1969 Autonomous Groups already existed, some of which evolved to the Autonomous Workers' Groups, falling into a narrow workerist dimension. On the other hand there were some young comrades who really engaged themselves in armed struggle, and who later on formed the MIL.

In the first place we started off from a series of minimal agreements, as opposed to the classical organisations of the past, which usually needed some very schematic theory to apply at all levels. In Barcelona these minimal agreements were simplified in the theoretical and practical development of the Platform of the Factory Workers Commissions, an organisation created at the beginning of the 70s, which united a whole series of organisations that rejected the CP's patronage. It defined itself as anti-capitalist, autonomous, anti-syndicalist, anti-authoritarian, and clandestine.

Up until then the Autonomous Groups had recognised themselves in the 'Independents' of Madrid, the MIL, and to a lesser extent, the GOA, having already formed an organisation with its own practical/theoretical plans and integrated in the Platform. In the middle of 1974, internal disputes concerning the Platform led to a number of people joining parties or unions. Others stuck to it, but with ideological nuances: anti-authoritarianism, antisocialism, etc. They ended up uniting with what remained of the Barcelona groups, then with those of Madrid and Valence.

Now we are all united by minimal agreements that can be summed up in what we have already said.

We refuse to establish or develop a new ideology, the ideology of autonomy. We are struggling against capitalism globally, and our coordination starts from a minimal agreement for action: *Abolition of salaried work and merchandise; Destruction of the State and any form of power; Destruction of prisons and all the State's repressive apparatus.*

We conceive of an organisation as only for concrete tasks. Our practice is our theory, and we put our theory into practice.

We are against ideologies, elements of separation within the real communist movement. It would be absurd therefore to make an ideological opposition, as we are against all ideologies. What we can do is elaborate a theory of the development of capitalism today, the present state of the communist movement, our work, our successes and relative failures.

We see the autonomy of the individual as the refusal of any delegation of responsibility at any level: organisation, action, propaganda, etc. All delegation of responsibility generates power, because any delegation hands in its bill sooner or later. Real individual autonomy, and that of a group or class, is realised by taking on one's own revolutionary responsibilities, one's global responsibilities in the face of capital.

*One could say then that you are against the State?* That's the least one could say. Obviously – it is impossible to imagine a State without authority.

*Do you think it will be possible to re-organise life, one way or another, on the basis of anarchist*

*principles?*

One of the first points we all agree on is that, with the aim of coordinating groups, we put ideologies in second place and give priority to practice and our needs on the basis of certain minimal agreements. An anarchist can therefore agree perfectly well on that basis.

There are in fact people among us who define themselves anarchists. That doesn't mean to say we support the anarchist ideology, but that, as well as being in agreement with the first definition, we are against parties, union, and salaried work.

*How do you envisage the re-organisation of society then, for example human relations and those of production?*

We think there shouldn't be the separation that exists today between work and study, but that a whole series of activities should exist through which work would be done. This should not be paid of course, and should be linked to the needs of the community, aiming at use and rejecting pure consumerism. We don't see work as necessarily some thing that has to be done in eight or five hours; by work we mean creativity, not the pure slavery that takes place at the present time. We see it as something based on the needs of society, not on economic benefit.

*So, one couldn't say that the Autonomous Groups are a specifically anarchist organisation?*

No, not specifically anarchist, nor specifically marxist. For us the coordination of autonomous groups is an organisation defined by its concrete tasks. We have already said we are leaving ideology aside in favour of a practice suited to the present social situation.

We don't want to spend years discussing things so as to give birth to a dazzling political theory then set to work from there.

We reject the alienation caused by adopting a precise ideology; and we are trying to avoid a centralisation of tasks. Each individual in any group must be responsible at the level of the co-ordination for action, propaganda, etc. We never delegate responsibility to anyone else, each person must accept his own full responsibility. We met and organised on the basis of concrete tasks; when these tasks disappear as such, the organisation will announce its dissolution.

*What do you think of the CNT?*

Well, to be clear, we'll answer that question in two parts.

Historically, the CNT had the possibility of bringing about the revolution in 1936 after crushing the military uprising almost single-handed. Four months later it entered into the formation of a non-revolutionary, or should we say counter-revolutionary, government with four ministers. We don't agree with the idea of personal error the green light. Those who believed the CNT to be a valid choice did so on the following analysis: it would assemble all the distinctly anti-authoritarian and anti-capitalist tendencies, thus galvanising all the forces that aspired to social change over the whole country. They participated in the reconstruction of the CNT on the basis of that analysis, without for that abandoning the Autonomous Groups.

Today, after four years' experience of the CNT in the social movement, our critique is the same as that which can be made of any syndical organisation or party as an element of integration that capitalism uses to maintain its equilibrium. We also think that there are revolutionary nuclei within the CNT, but that, obviously coming into contrast with the syndical bureaucracy, they cannot evolve towards a clear position.

*Can we say in that case that you are against the CNT?*

Yes, in as far as it is a syndical organisation. Very well, but we must point out that we don't have any particular phobia against the CNT; it simply on the part of Montseny or Garcia Oliver, but consider it was the organisational structure of the CNT that allowed such a situation. The CNT, which went from union to revolutionary organisation before and during the coup d'état, did not know how to come out of such a situation, congealing at the decisive moment. After that it was towed along by a government that was almost as reactionary as that which brought about the coup d'état.

At first, the re-constitution of the CNT revived the argument within the Autonomous Groups. Some found the possibility of change represented by the CNT valid; others thought it

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was a political mistake favoured by the mirage that things change with democracy.

They also thought an analysis of the evolution of Spanish capitalism and the workers' and social movement was necessary before giving the CNT enters the critique we make of unions and parties, to the extent that we do not consider them adequate instruments for a social revolution.

Without doubt it has happened that some of those among us have belonged to the CNT at an individual level, and connections and responsibilities have been drawn from that. In fact, when the Barcelona ones fell, both the police and capital's propaganda apparatus did all they could to make them into the armed wing of the CNT; the thing was repeatedly denied in front of both the Guardia Civil and the judges, and in communiques later sent out of prison. At most the police found some CNT membership cards at some of our homes because some joined at the beginning; but what the police presented as a "find" doesn't correspond to reality.

*What do you think of the FAI?*

Which one? Because there are a number of them, aren't there?

The only element we have to judge is the meeting that took place at the beginning of 1977. Our critique of them is that it doesn't seem right to us for people with no real base to meet with a view to building point blank a complete organisation, given that if the base groups that they claimed to represent existed, they evidently didn't have any concrete practice. But, in the end, we don't believe that the FAI exists at the moment.

Now, if it's a question of the historical FAI, things become more complicated. Our critique of the historical FAI is the following: although a revolutionary situation had been made possible by the use of armed struggle, we believe the FAI movement began from the spontaneous organisation of the workers to physically protect themselves from the *pistoleros* of the bosses at the beginning of the 20's, but that, in establishing itself as a permanent organisation, it reached the point of substituting itself for the working class in the field of its own tasks. We

recognise that it created a revolutionary situation, but we maintain that they were just as incapable as the CNT of making the revolutionary perspective triumph. We believe that this lack of initiative is the logical consequence of a lack of clear ideas on the way in which the working class must take on its tasks, without ever delegating its responsibilities to anyone.

The other fault we see in the FAI is that it takes on the role of ideological management of the CNT in as anarchists, which has favoured the entry of intellectuals; and it is these groups of intellectuals who have always prevented things reaching a revolutionary outcome.

*You are continually evoking armed struggle, but, as you know, there are other organisations that practise armed struggle, for example the ETA or the GRAPO. What do you think about that armed struggle and its organisations?*

For us revolutionary armed struggle is the radical contestation of capital. It is the only form of coherent struggle against the institutionalised repression of the State; we don't see why proletarians shouldn't use it.

We have a different opinion of the armed struggle carried out by these two organisations. In the case of the ETA, we agree if it is a question of a strategy for struggling against the State; now, if it is to edify the Basque "socialist" State, then we don't agree. We think that the ETA should clearly expose their social project; as far as that is concerned the military ETA seem to be more coherent to us, even though still very vague on this subject.

As far as the GRAPO is concerned, the first inconsistency we notice is that they are struggling with arms for a republic; because even Manuel Fraga Iribarne could fight for a republic, and even without arms. The second inconsistency that we see is that the GRAPO appeared precisely at the time of the transition from dictatorship to "democracy," and appeared with anti-fascist projects; while in reality a coherent project of armed struggle at that time was only possible on anti-capitalist bases that go beyond the evolution of the State. Fascism and democracy are two forms of capitalist dominion. The third inconsistency is that no one, especially ourselves, can understand the

majority of their actions, given that only a minute part of them can be justified from a revolutionary point of view.

*What do you think of the FIGA?*

Well, first of all, we lack information given that we got to know each other in prison and haven't really gone into deep discussions. Moreover, we don't remember any of your actions that would give us an idea, where you are going. In spite of that, you give us the impression of claiming to take the place of the historic FAI.

*How many individuals belonging to the Autonomous Groups are there in prison at the moment?*

About thirty.

*Do you identify with any movements in other countries?*

We identify with the autonomous movement; concretely, with those in France, Italy, Germany... The Autonomous Groups are not a nationalist but an internationalist movement; finally, it is practice that identifies us with other groups and organisations.

*How do you think prisoners' struggle should be at the present time?*

We have often said that we don't want economic solidarity, for people to send us clothes or food, etc. We understand solidarity as being in action. We understand by prisoners' aid actions going towards their liberation, as well as the global attack on the capitalist system.

*Have you received aid from the CNT?*

Some of us at the start of our imprisonment and during the first months, constantly received economic aid from the CNT. Still now we get money orders now and again from some unions such as the Chemical of Barcelona. But, on the other hand we must add that the CNT has also boycotted demonstrations or meetings organised for our support such as the Manleu one in 1978.

*Have you received any other kind of aid from other organisations?*

Some of us from the Association of Prisoners' Families and Friends, and, at the beginning of our imprisonment, from Madame J.

*What do you think of the youth of today?*

In the present youth there are new aspects to

take into consideration. Vast sectors of this youth are refusing to take on their roles of exploiters, exploited or intermediaries in this kind of exploitation; in a word, they are refusing salaried work.

Today capitalism can give itself the luxury of leaving certain sectors of youth on the margins of the production circuits, but not on the margin of the circuits of consumerism. This marginalisation has shown capital's true nature very clearly, giving rise to a generalised refusal, and a revolutionary consciousness in the same sectors of youth. The direct recuperation of clothing, food, books, etc has become a generalised practice among the young to supply their daily needs. In this way they are taking back a minute part of all that capital steals from us.

*What do you think about drugs?*

That they are very good. But we don't attach enough importance to them to adopt an agreement at organisational level on the subject. In any case, the problem is how and why one uses them.

*How do you envisage daily life in the street?*

Well, apart from the fact that we enjoy ourselves more there than we do here, daily life conditions your social position. For us, armed struggle is the struggle against a society that doesn't allow us to develop as whole individuals.

*Do you consider hold-ups as a means of subsistence?*  
The coordination of groups, in as far as it is a project of action or joint action, requires certain economic means in order to function. For the moment we have nothing against having recourse to expropriation to cover our personal needs when necessary.. Of course we don't live from expropriations as a group, because some of us work and others don't. In other words, each one organises his life as he can and as he likes.

Obviously, we don't devote all our efforts to that, although the actions we have done have been in that area.

There are some we don't want to disclose for obvious reasons, and others again that have been claimed by groups like the GRAPO or the FRAP, who have even been sentenced for them. Well, they must have their reasons...

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*Are you following the preparations for the next CNT congress with any interest?*

Yes, we have read something on the subject, but we're not very up to date. We only know the items on the agenda a little.

*So, if you have seen the agenda, what do you think will come out of it?*

Our first impression is that it's "wild" because of the assortment of themes, and we think that it would take a long time to discuss them all conscientiously.

But above all we note the absence of a profound critique of the CNT's interventions during the Spanish revolution, a self-criticism of the ideological positions and organisational structure that allowed so much personal failing. One thing we want to point out – although out of the question at the moment – is that, although we are against unions and parties that doesn't mean to say we are against intervention in the factories and workplaces. In other words all workerist positions seem bad to us, but it seems right that the workers should meet and organise in meetings to decide on their struggle. What we don't like is institutionalised union practice.

*You don't think that in the last analysis it is the workers alone who must emancipate themselves, and no other social class?*

Yes, of course, because in spite of the fact that some of us are not salaried workers, we consider ourselves to be an integral part of the proletariat. Without being exploited in a factory, we are none the less oppressed in social relations mediated by power and money. Our concept of proletarian considers all those from capital has taken the means of production.

*Do you think the revolution is viable today, bearing in mind above all the macro-structure of capital and the means of communication, etc?*

We think the French movement of May '68 demonstrated clearly that conditions for a social revolution were really present, with a greater possibility in the countries where capitalism is more developed.

*It seems to me that there is a contradiction in what you are saying, because over-developed countries such as the US are further than ever from revolution. That's how I see it at least. What do you think?*

None of us know the United States, but we do know countries like Italy, France, etc, and we think the conditions for a revolution exist.

*You don't think that May '68 was a failure in as far as nothing concrete crystallised, and that nothing of the possible conquests has survived?*

We absolutely don't consider it to have been a failure, but quite the image of a revolution possible in a developed country. There was equally a rupture with the traditional left – which was framing and capitalising proletarian revolt and which it then became a mechanism within the capitalist system.

What we did find negative in the revolutionaries of the French May was their incapacity to take advantage, as they could have done, of the fact that the trade unions and parties showed themselves up as elements of capitalist integration. The parties and unions are the left and the extreme left of capital. Their programmes are purely those of capital; they only want to improve its management, not reject it. Only the situationists drew the right theoretical conclusions at that time. May '68 was the seed, not the death, of contemporary revolution.

*Well, you say you are making the revolution by yourselves; and for the moment?*

But of course, we are certainly not irrational. And at least we are working out an analysis of the environment we find ourselves in, of all the forces that are intervening, in order to act accordingly in a determined way. We believe that it is in analysing the enemy that you find your allies.

*So you agree with Bakunin's formula when he says, "The freedom of others is the condition of my own freedom."*

Of course! You've said it, nicely put!

*Do you think that with your structure you will succeed in the subversion of the capitalist social order and the base that supports it?*

Yes. But we repeat that the coordination of the Autonomous Groups was created for the organisation of concrete tasks and, in some way, as the only means that will lead us to revolution.

Given that the coordination of Autonomous groups is not a traditional organisation, in the

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face of a concrete situation different to that of the present time, we are ready to reconsider our form of organisation.

*At the moment would you have no confidence in any organisation other than the Autonomous Groups?*  
First of all, we don't claim revolutionary exclusiveness. In fact, we think one can disagree with an organisation at theoretical level and, on the contrary, be in complete agreement with its practice. All that is relative. In the same way we believe that an organisation will reach one end or another, according to the means it uses.

*Do you think you will get out of prison thanks to a pre-revolutionary situation, an amnesty, or rather that you won't be out for a long time, given the heavy sentences the procurator is asking for? And, do you think a revolution is possible today?*

In reply to the first question, we would say we are trying not to forecast the future, but to transform it. As far as the second is concerned, who wants to say "today," with ten or fifteen years' delay? Yes, then, and the sooner the better. We think the objective conditions already exist; only the subjective ones are lacking.

*Good, but do you think that a revolution is possible at national level?*

No, we don't think that in absolute, think it would take at least the participation of half of Europe for there to be a certain chance of extension at world level, and for it not to end up like Russia, China, Algeria, Cuba, etc.

*Let's come back to amnesty. Do you think there will be some kind of struggle in prisons, especially now that there is talk of a possible amnesty for the Basque prisoners?*

Yes, we see the possibility of a struggle for amnesty inside the prisons, but linked to a context of generalised struggle in the streets. It has been demonstrated that alone, we can be kept quiet as soon as they want us to.

On the other hand, if there were an amnesty, but with the present level of repression still existing, the prisons would fill up again in no time; and probably with some of us again. Consequently, such an amnesty is a pure illusion.

*Do you consider yourselves political prisoners?*

No, we consider ourselves prisoners of the system.

*What do you think of common law prisoners?*

What one calls common law or social prisoners are a consequence of the capitalist system's irrationality and antinatural character. It's no coincidence that the majority of them come from the proletariat. They have tried to escape the poverty capital as it has sentenced them to, without taking account of either social or production relations. Some have acquired a revolutionary awareness through the struggles in the prisons. We have had both positive and negative experiences with them, just as with those who call themselves political prisoners.

We think they have the same revolutionary possibilities as a worker; and, like him, everything depends on what he does about it.

*What do you think of the prisoners who find themselves in prison for having tried to get into capitalist roles?*

We refuse prison, even for a bourgeois; it only makes sense in the capitalist system. We think that in a communist system, all anti-social habits should be discussed by all the members of the affected community and an adequate solution be found for each individual case.

Prison, and this has been confirmed, gives no positive results. It only exists in so far as the capitalist system is not capable of resolving its own contradictions.

*Including the fascists that are locked up at Ciudad Real?*

We repeat, each concrete case must be studied and its solution found through the community. We think that in the case of the fascists of Cuidad Real, they would get a bullet through the head, and that they will get it!

*Have you anything to add to this interview?*

Of course, we have a lot of things to say, but we'll wait for another occasion so as not to exhaust you.

## Insurrection

Every new idea and institution, all progress and every revolution have always been the work of minorities. It is our aspiration and our aim that everybody should become socially

conscious and effective; but to achieve this end, it is necessary, to provide all with the means of life and for development, and it is therefore necessary to destroy with violence, since one cannot do otherwise, the violence which denies these means to the workers.

Naturally, the 'small numbers', the minority, must be sufficient, and those who imagine that we want to have an insurrection a day without taking into account the forces opposing us, or whether circumstances are in our favour or against us, misjudge us. In the now remote past we were able, and did, carry out a number of minute insurrectionary acts which had no probability of success. But in those days we were indeed only a handful, and wanted the public to talk about us, our attempts were simply means of propaganda.

Now it is no longer a question of uprisings to make propaganda; now we can win, and so we want to win, and only take such action when we think we can win. Of course we can be mistaken, and on the grounds of temperament may be led into believing that the fruit is ripe when it is still green; but we must confess our preference for those who err on the side of haste as opposed to those who always play a waiting game and let the best opportunities slip through their fingers for they, through fear of picking a green fruit then let the whole crop go rotten!

Errico Malatesta  
*Umanita' Nova*  
September 6, 1921

## Chronicle

The following Chronicle, begun in Issue 1 and which we intend to continue in future issues of *Insurrection*, is more than a simple statement of events. Taken singly, each item is an individual act on one side or other of the class conflict. As such it remains isolated. Seen together these acts make up a class offensive.

Although obviously incomplete, it shows the mechanism of repression at work at all levels, from the brute force of the workplace and the massacre that takes place there daily, the violence of police and prison, to more subtle forms through education and the media. This

mechanism is neither abstract nor anonymous. The exploiting class is composed of men and women, each one of whom is responsible to one degree or another.

On the other hand, the response of the exploited class is constant. Often their actions go unnoticed at public level. They are deliberately concealed by those who fear their spreading, or are relegated, often by the revolutionary movement itself, to the burial ground of "illegality" as soon as they go beyond the boundary of the "legitimate defence" of the trade unions into the field of attack.

Seeing this conflict set out simply and clearly should be a useful instrument of analysis and an orientation towards revolutionary action.

### February

1 Three pensioners die in their home in Ormskirk, Lancashire in a fire caused by candles used for lighting.

2 Nissan deal signed at meeting between Japanese president (and murderer) Takahashi and Employment secretary (and murderer) Norman Tebbit. A no-strike demand has been pledged by the accommodating unions./ Gilbert & Page factory at Colney Heath Hatfield which makes snares and pens, was destroyed by fire claimed by Animal Liberation group./ Spy squads are being trained by police for DHSS.

3 Philip Birch is fined £200 at Newbury magistrates court for "actual bodily harm" and "criminal damage" when he tried to gatecrash (literally) the Greenham Common missile base in January.

All GCQH staff who refuse to give up union membership and decline offer of a job elsewhere are to be sacked.

TUC secretary Len Murray tells TUC conference in London that British workers must take lower pay rises if they are to "win" shorter hours as a way to reducing unemployment.

Train driver and guard Bernard Leonard and Jim Young are both killed in a train crash involving 2 freight trains at Crewe.

A 20-year-old Londoner prisoner walks out of Lewes jail with a crowd of visitors.

5 A primary school in Berkshire is destroyed

by fire the day before term starts.

The Duke of Beaufort, 83, dies in his bed.

**6** Police raid offices of Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace after they publicise details re radioactive dumping.

Police use taperecorders for first time in interrogations at Holborn, Croydon, Wirral, Leicester, Winchester, and South Tyneside.

Department of Employment enquiry begun into death of YOP worker, 16 year old Andrew Lewis, crushed to death by machinery. He was dragged between rollers after his overalls caught on a conveyer belt. The machine had no protective cover, the belt was broken and part missing.

Nine people arrested outside London High Court during Animal Liberation Front protest at delay of appeal sentence for Steve Boulding jailed for 15 months last June, for conspiracy to cause damage at lab using animals in experiments.

**7** Eight seamen drown in freezing channel when their freighter sinks in a storm.

Animal Rights protesters try to stop lorry carrying thousands of chickens into a slaughterhouse. About 40 protesters demonstrated outside Lloyd Mauder abattoir and poultry processing plant nr Cullompton, Devon, also at slaughterhouses in Bradford, Winchester, Brachley, Bolton, Edinburgh, and Burwash Common. Three arrests in Winchester. 1,700 people have their electricity cut off every week for failure to pay bills, and more than 15,000 a year are left without supply for at least a month.

Workers occupying rig for 30 days Sovereign Explorer anchored off Largs are ordered to put an end to sit in protest against illegal repairs done on board.

**8** Sarah Tisdall committed for trial for rendering public date of Cruise missile arrival.

Princess Margaret leaves Heathrow for annual holiday on Caribbean island of Mystique.

US airman Gregory Zapp is to be flown back to America and discharged because he has married a Greenham Common woman.

London metropolitan police announce last year's crime figures as 659,000.

700 Manchester civil servants will strike on 28th in protest against union ban. They do not

agree with leaders' sell-out offering a no-strike, no-disruption deal.

Hartfordshire education leaders have decided to cut women kitchen workers' wages by 25%. Inflation rate has fallen 5.1% mainly due to price curbs in nationalised industries.

Government spending cuts in July mean 20,000 less university places.

Seven American servicemen at Greenham Common are to be discharged following drugs charges.

In 1980 1,726 American servicemen were taken off duties related to nuclear weapons because of drugs related offences.

Spontaneous walk-out by workers (2,000) at Scott Lithgow Yard in response to bid by Trafalgar House to take over yard and cut jobs by about 2,000.

**10** Kevin Fisher and his five children die as fire destroys their council house in Glamorgan.

Prisoners interrogated after fake revolver found in lavatory cistern at Winsor Green prison.

**11** 2,000 Scott Lithgow workers vote to occupy yard.

Eleven Greenham Common women fined £5 each and jailed for a week for causing obstruction outside missile base.

Boy of 17 dies after being crushed between lift and shaft wall in multi-storey block of flats in Liverpool.

**13** Two policemen are attacked by a gang of youths at Manor Way, Boreham when they try to arrest one of them for being drunk.

Angry miners from doomed colliery Polmaise, Stirling burst into Press conference hurling abuse at union leaders following Scottish delegates meeting.

**14** Sunrise raid on Greenham women's camp. 18 of 40 tents lost. All are already rebuilding on "forbidden land."

Over 200 schoolchildren at Wyke Manor School, Bradford, walk out of school after allegations of racism among staff. They waved banners "Equal rights for all" and "Fight for your rights."

**15** Royal Society for Prevention of Accidents (sic) report: 750 lives officially lost per year at work; 500,000 injuries.

**16** In Bristol an 18-year-old opens fire on police then shoots himself in the head.

**17** Twenty LEB meter collectors suspended for

fiddling meters.

Police restrain man in smart grey suit and a tea cosy on his head trying to get into Royal Society of Arts while Prince Charles is making a speech. Scotland Yard formally apologise to London couple who suffered multiple wounds, were "wrongly arrested" and maliciously prosecuted by two unnamed policemen—7 years ago.

**20** Over 20 top Scotland Yard officers are forming a "staff association."

Six seamen drown in a tug sinking off Land's End. 16 arrests after clashes between hunt saboteurs and police at a hare coursing meeting in Altcar, Lancs. which resulted in its being postponed.

Four Greenham women jailed after refusing to pay fines.

Polmaise, Stirlingshire coalmine workers to go on unofficial strike from tomorrow.

Police raids on 2 S London estates, Avondale and Astley-Cooper at Rotherhithe and Bermondsey involving 80 police.

**21** 1,000 jobs to go in white collar section of Thames water authority.

**22** IBA demands government cut down on pirate radio stations.

Home secretary Leon Brittan discloses that over 20,000 plastic bullets have been purchased by police in England and Wales.

Met police announce tests of water cannon. Home secretary says there "may be circumstances where further equipment may be required." A range of alternatives are available.

**23** Ballistic experts investigate damage to parked car near Pirbright Army Ranges, Camberley. 2.5 in jagged hole in Volkswagen beetle was caused by a missile or shotgun fire travelling at high speed and broke through the window on other side. Had anyone been in the car it would have gone through their head. Three people have been shot by stray bullets from that range to date.

Two Greenham women held. They were seen at 2am between perimeter fence and silos on S side of airfield. Women heard 'two loud bangs like shots' after refusing to obey orders to lie down.

GYT admits to using soldiers 'for years' in chemical warfare experiments.

Coal boss Ian Me Gregor pushed to ground by striking miners in demo of 600 at Ellington Colliery, Blyth, Northumberland.

Thatcher rejects offer by TUC general secretary Len Murray for TUs at GCHQ to give up all industrial rights and keep only nominal membership of unions.

**24** More than 10,000 people are being held prisoner on remand in SE region.

**27** Farmer Richard Markham of Home Farm, Henton denies criminal damage after labourer Roy Tapping loses an arm in faulty farm machinery.

### March

**1** Air Marshall Sir Michael Giddings, deputy chief of defence staff is having his house surrounded by police watch following 600 letters, a parcel of shit, and two deputations to his home as 4,000 registered protesters try to prevent widening of Archway Road.

Increases of up to 30% will take place in health service charges over the next two years.

**3** Secretary of State for Wales hit by rotten eggs and oranges and stink bombs are thrown obliging him to abandon an address to conservative students at University of Wales, Aberystwyth by protesters against education cuts.

At High Wycombe two 160 ft cranes are scaled and occupied as well as some smaller ones and a deep bunker at the RAF Strike Command headquarters being built in the compound.

Three women are held after slogans are daubed around the Mall shopping centre and council offices.

London cinema plans to show 10 forbidden films to highlight censorship of home videos.

**5** Scotland Yard confirm that detectives are investigating beatings by screws in segregation wings at Wandsworth prison following protests in January against increasingly harsh regime.

Ten million TU members are to meet sharply increased contributions.

Three men are killed when the derelict flat they are squatting catches fire.

**6** 56,000 miners are about to strike over pit closures. Manager of Yorkshire Main Colliery hit by stone thrown by picket.

Twelve women evicted from Greenham Common peace camp.

**7** Unilever has referred more than 700 people to skin specialists to examine rashes caused by one of their washing powders. 5,000 wrote to the company complaining of skin rashes as a result of this domestic chemical warfare.

Deputy governor of Maze Prison brought to justice. Over and above his official role as State incarcerator he was known to have organised and directed beatings of prisoners.

Association of Metropolitan Authorities reckon it will take over £5,000,000 to render habitable council dwellings that have been hastily built with inadequate materials.

Police chief of New York and New Jersey Port Authority visits Railton Road and imparts some of his latest refinements in policing ethnic minorities to his London buddies.

**8** Four workers survive due only to their own ingenuity after spending more than 3 hours trapped in a tunnel filled with poisonous fumes in Staffordshire.

Nineteen women arrested outside British Film Academy in Picadilly where American sponsored military technology seminar is being held.

Government tries to bribe young miners into voluntary resignation by improving redundancy rates.

50 14-yr.-old schoolchildren at George Green comprehensive school in Manchester Road, Isle of Dogs, gather outside school gates and refuse to go in after asbestos is found in classroom.

**9** McGregor announces cut of 4,000,000 tonnes in coal production next year and intended closure of 20 pits and loss of 20,000 jobs.

Three women on trial for breaking into traffic control tower at Greenham.

60% of population will be affected by Health Service clause limiting supply of NHS spectacles to children under 16 and people "on very low incomes."

Ministry of Defence are to pay out £31 m on biggest exodus of British armed forces on the continent in Operation Lionheart involving 130,000 British servicemen, almost half of whom will be transported to W. Germany. 57,700 will be sent by air and there will be 82 boat departures from Folkestone in the first half of September.

Cruise convoy leaves Greenham Common

shortly after midnight, its 12 huge vehicles taking protesters by surprise.

**10** NCB will not take action against flying pickets under 1980 Employment Act for fear of worsening dispute.

Bosses to get more Government money for YOPs—increase from £1,950 each to £2,050 from September MARCH 13 1984: Heseltine proposes centralisation of Ministry of Defence, which would greatly strengthen the role of Chief of Defence Staff.

Notts NUM persistent Ray Chadburn and area manager Henry Richardson issue public statement condemning Yorkshire pickets.

There are at least 131,000 empty houses in London: Southwark 4619, Hackney 3203, Lambeth 2280, Islington 22224, Lewisham 1657, Tower Hamlets 1570.

Women at Greenham Common padlock and superglue exit gate after convoy drives out. Pickets close S. Wales coalfield. 10 pits closed in Scotland.

**14** David Martin, jailed for 25 years for wounding a policeman, is found hanging in his cell at Parhurst prison.

More than 2,000 miners are on the move as flying pickets succeed, often through strength in numbers, in closing 14 out of 25 Notts, pits, all 5 in Lancashire, and 8 out of 9 in Derbyshire.

**15** Diary pages disappear from Brixton prison office containing names and addresses of some of the guards. At one address in Penge, S. London, live at least 25 screws and their families. Flying pickets defy court order and return to pits.

Banks give boost to industry by cutting interest rates.

Budget gives rich another chance to get richer through capital tax transfer tax handouts. 15% VAT added to fish and chips and other takeaway food.

Senior magistrate in Bradford says 4 out of 10 people appearing before him cannot afford to live within the law, and refuses to jail or fine unemployed parents.

MARCH 16 1984: Picketing miner David Gareth Jones aged 24 is killed, crushed during clashes with police at Ollerton, Notts.

NCB given go-ahead to sue Yorkshire miners. Sergeant Ian Speed, who "was being careful I

did not do anything to restrict his breathing" of James Daveys, who at the time was handcuffed with 2 pairs of cuffs and his legs were bound with rope), released his head-lock after his mates told him the man had gone blue and had stopped breathing – inquest continues.

Classroom block at Purbrook Junior School, Waterlooville, Hampshire burnt down Tuesday night – £75,000 damage.

Westlands School, Sittingbourne, Kent, broken into and furniture smashed and videos taken.

17 Upper Heyford-300 protesters clash with police. Sections of perimeter fence torn down and dozens invade the base until they are driven back by police and dogs.

20 Struggle between women and council workmen trying to evict them from the Blue Gate at Greenham The York to Hull motorway is closed off when police see an abandoned car with a N. Ireland registration parked in a lay-by outside women's toilets. A remote control robot is used to blast the boot open – the bomb wires turn out to belong to a stereo and speakers belonging to an 18-year-old soldier who had run out of petrol.

Animal Rights supporters sabotage computers and lab equipment at a top research centre. 3 cages of rats are also freed from the Institute of Psychiatry, Denmark Hill, Camberwell. Forty two pits are now left working, the remaining 124 are at a standstill.

21 Trial at Old Bailey of a group of tenants from rat-infested Fairlop Road, Leytonstone where they had been sent by DHSS. They had organised to defend themselves with molotovs against skinheads hired by the landlord at £10 per head to evict them.

Some doctors complain about medical records being held on Databank and subsequently passed on to police, customs and excise, inland revenue, social and education dept. computers. Children stage lightning strike in support of miner fathers. Police are called when they form a picket line outside comprehensive school in Yorkshire coalfield after notice appeared on school notice board "all out at 1.15pm – meet at the school gates."

Epperstone Manor police training school nr Nottingham is one of the bases they have been billeted to in the war against the miners.

Chesterfield Council evict 140 police from entertainment hall they had taken over.

22 Miners' strike figures according to Scotland Yard: 4,600 pickets at 43 sites; 7,000 police mobilised. 96 arrests since last week.

23 Sarah Tisdall jailed for 6 months for publicising date of arrival of Cruise missiles, thus breaking her pledge of loyalty to the State. 25,000 people a year are accused of shoplifting in London.

26 Massive police operation to evict inhabitants of Effra Parade squats. 130 Police, many in riot gear, flank Lambeth Council demolition squad. They came into the street at 4.30am and were met by barricades and a barrage of bricks and debris. The battle lasted for some hours. 6 comrades arrested.

27 Several hundred miners close 12 mile stretch of motorway. Others drive in convoy at 5mph up and down A1 between Wadworth and Blyth nr Doncaster. 80 arrested. 75,600 extra police are on duty confronting an estimated 2,150 pickets at 28 working collieries. Most police were drafted, some are volunteers, egged on by the promise of huge overtime payments. A "mutual aid" (their words) system is being run by David Hall, Chief Constable of Humber-side, and President of the Police Association Andrew Sloan, Chief Constable of Bedfordshire. It came into force in 1981 when riots spread throughout the country. Its aim is to rapidly deploy riot-trained police to any part of the country. Both the Home Office and the Police Association are insisting that this is in no way an embrionic form of national police force. It is being run from the 13<sup>th</sup> Floor of Scotland Yard by Association of Chief Police Officers with liaison officers from the Home Office.

There are about 4,600 miners picketing 85 sites. Deployment of 5,800 police.

28 More motorway "go-slows." Major roads blocked by miners' cars. Pickets abandon vehicles en masse on A 38, a mile from Derby.

29 Extensive damage to weighbridge office at Hem Heath caused by fire bomb.

21 pickets arrested at Blyth Power Station, Northumberland.

Prince William Barracks, Grantham, Notts' requisitioned by 500 police.

Stop the City – Road blocks, leafletting, flag

burning, picketing of banks, burning of UB40s, bank windows smashed, singing, chanting takes place on the last day of the financial year. 396 arrests.

At Greenham Common women use their bodies as barriers to block Cruise missile convoy of 26 vehicles. They force the missile launcher carrier onto the verge, smashing a sign on the fence. One man tried to ram the convoy with a Volkswagen car.

30 46-year-old Clementine George, tied to a radiator and beaten in the stomach, arms, and chest by police when they ransacked her home to search for her son, gets damages award in High Court.

British Telecom due to make £1 billion profit, is to be sold off by government as part of its privatisation programme. Services and jobs will be cut.

Washington, Tyne, and Wear, has been chosen as site for Japanese car company Nissan. They intend to be in operation by 1986, and unions have given fullest cooperation to maintain the "simple system" favoured in Japan, for the 400 to 500 workers they intend to employ there.

automatically at the simple pronunciation of a few precise words by the priest (who himself has been permanently invested with certain powers by his superiors). In this way the hierarchical structure is assured in absolute. The subordinate sees in the superior one who possesses the secret of transforming reality, absolving sins, moulding character, etc, which has nothing to do with his own person or value as an individual.

This is how the widespread and terrible crimes committed by this organisation throughout its history can be explained. From the atrocities of the inquisition to the deaths at the stake. From the support given to the forces of power everywhere (including the nazis), to financial swindles, speculation and accumulation of enormous wealth.

It is enough for the same person who handles millions through the Vatican bank (IOR), has relations; with Sindona's mafia organisation, and speculative swindles through the Banca Privata and the Franklin-Bank, to raise, his hands and repeat a few words? For everyone to be sure that the mystery of the reincarnation will take place without a doubt, and with no one being able to prevent it, even his superiors.

The strength of the catholic church lies precisely in this gigantic mechanism of absolute obedience to the object: the word, or ritual, or symbol. No one can put a brake on an objective process, not even the Pope himself. Think of the great power of persuasion such an idea has held for centuries.

Basically, people want someone to provide a mechanism that works, even against their own will, so long as it is objective and no opposing force can alter it. This reassures them, allows them little deviations in behaviour but which can be put back on to the rails of eternal objectivity.

Any misdeed whatsoever can be justified in this way, as long as the mechanism continues to work.

Until recently, the myth of the objective mechanism of exploitation leading to social liberation, was the pillar of the marxist church. Then it was noticed that this mechanism was continually being altered by capital, and that

## The Church and the Objective Spirit

In your article in Issue 1 on the "gluten-free wafer", you rightly underlined the anachronism of the catholic church's behaviour towards those of its members who are changing the composition of the sacred particle in which the body and blood of Christ consolidates and takes life.

The fact that this kind of idiocy still attracts the attention of the church leaders should not surprise us. In fact this organisation's whole power structure is based on the objective spirit, ie the material content of the symbol, independently of the decisions or will of the individual.

This has always been one of the strong points of catholic power. During mass, the divine service (transformation of bread and wine into the body of Christ) comes about

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without the intervention of the exploited the thing could go on indefinitely. But that dream was used to cradle the proletarian's dreams and justify their behaviour at times accomodating or contradictory. One minute we are going to war, drawing up an agreement with the boss, working in an arms factory, accepting trade union protection—it doesn't matter, because the objective rachanism is functioning on its own and working for the revolution in place of us. This kind of reasoning is quite similar to that which people carry out concerning the objective myth of the catholic church.

Any call to personal responsibility, to criticism, investigation, reflection, is always unpleasant as it instills doubt into acquired certainties, awakens from lethargy, gives birth to fears and desires unknown till then.

But this, basically, is the work of revolutionaries: to destroy myths and illusions everywhere, including those within the religious tabernacles and party strongholds.

Lucy Fur

## Re A Couple of Fools and a Piece of Paper

It often happens in the international anarchist movement that duplicated or printed sheets—or should we say papers, because they bear a graphic resemblance to newspapers—are produced that are full of rubbish.

Being an anarchist doesn't prevent one from being stupid or a fool.

Usually in such cases, readers who use publications apply their own criteria of debate and reflection and quickly discard such rubbish for what it is. One gives a smile and that is the end of it.

Sometimes, however, we don't smile at fools. That happens when, putting aside confused ideas and theoretical rubbish, they turn their attention to individuals.

When they talk about other comrades, of what they are doing, what their activity represents, of projects that are under discussion,

then these individuals become dangerous.

If for no other reason than that the most attentive reader of fools is precisely the police.

What to do?

Although—as a famous dictum tells us—one can defend oneself from the intelligent, the same does not apply to fools.

And that is the case. Possible defence against the damage caused by imbecility is little and inefficient.

One can explain to the fool the risk he is putting other comrades at with his "carelessness", or with his not quite correct evaluation of events and things. But can we really be sure that the fool understands? And then, having convinced one fool (one way or another), who will defend us from the next hundred who take up their pens to mess up a piece of paper?

The only solution lies in setting out one's ideas as clearly as possible, exposing one's thought as clearly as possible, precisely so as to avoid "bad" or "ill-meaning" interpretations being able to find space and confuse comrades.

If comrade A is accused by fool X of having done a specific thing, there is no point in entering into an argument, pointing out that such a thing did not take place, and the reasons for its impossibility. One can clarify indirectly, reconfirming the thought and action of comrade A, as though the intervention of the fool X did not exist.

All this is valid of course in the case of finding oneself with proof of the fellow's imbecility. In the case of his being an informer, then behaviour must be different, and it is not necessary to go into what that should be here, because all comrades know very well what to do about it.

Issue 3  
May 1985

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THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES...that of the miners, the unemployed, the low paid workers, immigrant workers, proletarian women, young people...the groups and sub-groups are endless in the great mass of the exploited of advanced capital.

The urban ghettos kindle, there is ferment in the schools. Anger is mounting among the services workers pushed out of their jobs or devalued by privatisation. Shipyard workers, workers in the car industry, skilled and unskilled workers in all the heavy and light industries are finding themselves thrown like rejects on to the scrap heaps of poverty and depression. Meanwhile the rich get richer. And to keep this wealth they are building more and more bunkers, bullet proof cars, training armies, special corps for crowd control, building new prisons, formulating new laws, tightening border controls, perfectioning social control.

The obvious place to turn in this situation is the official workers' movement. This however has miserably failed in its historic task. There can no longer be any doubt. The unions need the space to survive and grow that only capital will provide for them. Even the seemingly combative ones have no intention or desire to destroy a system which is happy to delegate to them the role of bargaining over the cost of the restructuring process in course. Their role is indispensable, and is worth the price of policing picket line battles when workers are no longer prepared to accept the results of the conference table.

The only losers are those who fought and gave all-and lost all. What good is the credit balance of "self-respect" if all it serves to do is to palliate another twenty years down the mines or a life on the dole.

The struggle continues, in spite of the unions. In spite of the parties and hangers on. In spite of the anarchists so long as we remain tied to illusions that our movement has fostered for so long now.

What to do? Wait for the next confrontation to appear? Improvise next time, become insurrectionists, trade unionists, abstentionists for the day, anti-militarists, or whatever else the occasion demands of us?

Or is it time to work out—and make known in clear terms—what anarchists really are. What we really want: to subvert the present order and be protagonists in the struggle for the new. This is not an abstract concept, a maximalisation to delay the moment of action. If our final subversive, destructive, aim is forgotten for a moment, allowing ourselves to be fascinated by the pull of activism without clear thought and profound analysis, we can often end up flanking the very counter-revolution we believe we are fighting.

We need organisational proposals that become a clear point of reference beyond the institutionalised haggling of capitalist forces. These proposals must be concrete and we must be present to participate in bringing them about. It is time to come out from our ideological bunkers and confront each other not so much on the immediate and pressing tactical choices for the next demo, but to analyse the reality in which we are trying to work. It is time to come out.

## Violence and Non-Violence

The problem of the difference between "violence" and "nonviolence" is usually posed wrongly because of the class interests and emotive reactions it triggers.

State violence and the terrorism of the bosses knows no limits or moral obstacle. Revolutionaries, and anarchists in particular, are quite justified in responding to this violence with revolutionary violence.

Complications arise when we examine the positions of those who support nonviolence. In appearance only do they choose peaceful methods, methods which when seen in isolation are not violent, ie do not physically attack the adversary. Yet when seen within the general framework

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of the struggle, their interventions (apart from those of organisations who use nonviolence as an alibi to leave things as they are) turn out to be just as violent as those carried out by the supporters of violence.

A march of pacifist demonstrators is itself a violent event that upsets the order of exploitation. It is a demonstration of strength, a show of force. It does not differ from the violent demonstration, at least in its choice of objective. From the strategic and revolutionary point of view, the idea of a violent demonstration capable of winning and holding a military victory is unthinkable today. In so saying, we do not mean that we should refuse revolutionary violence. We only mean we must be clear so as to avoid sanctifying the machine gun on the one hand or becoming the policeman of the situation on the other.

A purely verbal distinction between violence and non-violence is a false one. A well-fed bourgeois can easily theorise the most unchained violence against the boss class, but only with difficulty will he put it into effect in conditions requiring total dedication to the revolutionary task. Most often his violence is purely verbal. In practice he prefers things to remain as they are, because among other things, that allows him to continue to exercise his fiery rhetoric.

Another equally well-fed bourgeois might feel himself transported to an exaltation of non-violence, but still as something theoretical, something condemning the negative so-called *instincts* of struggle and violence and sanctifying the positive *instincts* of peace and brotherhood. Only with difficulty however will this bourgeois put his non-violent *principles* into practice in a total daily involvement in the social struggle. He will prefer the comfort of the situation as it is, where he can carry on with his reflections on peace and brotherhood.

Before speaking of violence and nonviolence a distinction should be made as to whether the question is being applied to a real situation, or whether it is simply an abstract theory and there is no intention of actually applying it. Only in the case of the former is it possible to discuss the strategic and military conditions that render non-violent methods less effective

and more easily overcome by power. But this discussion is one which comes afterwards, is a question of method and never an abstract one.

We are not interested in philosophical discussions on violence that lead to theories of the hereditary biological violence of the species, etc, which stink of theology. What is important is to approach the struggle in its reality. The rest is a question of choice of means and the best way to put them into effect.

If we are personally convinced that non-violent methods are unsuitable in the social struggle today, not for this are we against the comrades who see their own dimension of struggle in non-violent methods. What is important is that the struggle be engaged upon seriously, that it not be limited to speaking of *nonviolent struggle* as an alibi so that the police will leave us alone.

Abstract discussions on violence (nearly always fiery and bloody) and just as abstract discussions on nonviolence (nearly always idiotic and paradisical) are equally disgusting. We can only respond effectively to the historic crime of exploitation, terrorism and institutionalised violence with struggle, using any means we choose. The violence (or non-violence) of words and speeches will change nothing.

## Whose Victory?

The recent media operation disclosing the shock horror story of the Princess Michael's nazi/SS antecedents (and who of her age, nationality and class does not have nazi/SS antecedents?) has given the aforementioned a wonderful opportunity to drag the well-worn films of the concentration camps out of the archives again, just a few days before VE day.

We are reminded of what was (some of it), and of what might have been (had we not saved *democracy*): that "the Allies" fought and vanquished the Demons of the earth, replacing Evil with Good.

The no-less-horrendous systematic torture and slow annihilation of millions of Jews, Poles, Russians, gypsies, etc, which lent itself so well to the celluloid documentary and never fails

to stagger one with its tremendous teutonic methodical rationality, serves to cover up the equally horrendous, but less visible, annihilation of the populations of Dresden, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Vietnam, the more recent slaughter over the Falklands, the present-day massacre in the Lebanon and South American countries to name but a few.

The same media that rekindles an abhorance of the concentration camps, covers up the legacy of dismemberment, blindness, malformation, the slow and painful deaths of the *good* wars.

In the spirit of the pioneers and frontiersmen, these wars were and are waged with a quick clean efficiency. No messing about, just bomb them off the face of the earth. Too bad that chemical reactions and radiation can achieve the whole thing in just the one radical obliteration but continue through succeeding generations (see agent orange). But with progress in science and chemical warfare, one day this might be possible.

In the same way, the old teutonic version of the fascism of the jackboot and the swastika has given way to the new, clean, sanitised fascism of social democracy, the fascism of participation and controlled dissent, on condition that real power is centralised in the hands of a restricted minority that coordinates political and economic power, making it balance. This minority is supra-national in character and structure (IMF, international power summits, ecumenical churches, multinational corporations) and uses international wars as stimulus to profit and social control. (And the monarchies are at the same time anachronistic figureheads and active participants in the ongoing slaughter this fascism represents in wars, at the workplace, and in the famine-ridden deserts.)

We cannot detach what the State calls war from the global project of capitalist exploitation. Our task as anarchists is to demystify war, and underline what we all know very well: that we are living in a perpetual state of war, a war which has not frontier but class boundaries. Terrorism and genocide is not the prerogative of the military structure of one country, but is the underlying basis of everyday life.

Nothing to celebrate then, but time to organise and work out a real offensive in a

libertarian class dimension whose objectives are always the same: an organised attack against the organisations and individuals who enact and make possible exploitation in all its bellicose forms.

## On Amnesty

There has been reference in some anarchist papers recently to the "struggle for amnesty" taking place by prisoners in Italy. Even without knowing much of what has been happening there in recent years, it doesn't take much reflection to see there is a contradiction in terms here. A *struggle for amnesty* is at best a contradiction, in its true light it is one of the latest swindles by the repressive apparatus of the Italian State, requiring the complicity of a large part of what was once its contestant (at least in its present form) both inside and outside the prison walls.

Hence the rivers of words, theories, justifications and platitudes, amounting to no more than a fairly generalised "throwing in the towel." The War is over, and the same laws that churned out life sentences and allowed for the release of vile traitors and grases, are now sanctioning amnesty. The order is: continue the struggle with other means. The ones used till now have made too much noise. Abandon everything. Put aside the class struggle. Abandon the revolution.

First the appearance of the *pentiti* who abandoned the struggle on a military and political level, passing over to the side of the State and personally taking on the task of strangling all further forms of resistance resulting in the assassination of four Red Brigades comrades in Genova in 1980 and the arrest of hundreds of comrades since. Now the appearance of those affirming 'desertion'. In May 1980 a collective document drawn up by the supporters of the desertion thesis, nearly all ex-Prima Linea, among them Donat Cattin and Gai, was published by Lotta Continua. This first group of deserters was short-lived. Many of them ended up with a very fine line between themselves and the *pentiti*, and almost all of them ended up collaborating with the judiciary.

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In September 1982, a document appeared known as that of the 51 (the number of signatories) drawing up a way of taking a distance from the struggle; disassociation, proposals for pacification, amnesty, etc.

Those who signed this document, mainly from the autonomy area, maintain that combatant positions be condemned, opening the way to a dialectic with the State. Negri, Ferrari, Bravo, Vesce, and others say it is necessary to criticise the past radical antagonism and immerse themselves in a dialectic relationship with the *healthy* social and political forces. In this way (they maintain) the State will also find itself forced into self-criticism. New conditions of the political clash will lead not to radical dissent or total opposition, but to dialectic and increased discussion, with the aim of stimulating the State to increasingly democratise itself. In this way the area of disassociation has developed and contains various positions.

One of these positions is that of Scalzone and other refugees in France. They maintain there should be a great mobilisation to impose a battle for amnesty for all political prisoners. An armistice has to be drawn up with the State, and the two sides are to bargain over the price of the movement's defeat.

Another area born within the prisons is that of so-called decarcerisation (release of prisoners). Its supporters refuse to subscribe to disassociation, but see the need to find other roads to social transformation, passing through pacifist and ecological struggles to a better quality of life. In their situation as prisoners they want to begin a politico-cultural struggle aimed at reducing the negative effects of segregation. This area are calling for conferences, demonstrations, concerts, exhibitions, production and cultural coops, with the aim of creating social structures that are "alternatives to prison," in a perspective allowing a passage from the dreamed of political revolution to social transformation. This area is rapidly approaching that of the true disassociated and constitutes the so-called homogeneous area. They organised a conference in Rebibbia prison in Rome last May in which thirty prisoners participated.

Many ex-militants of Prima Linea

have taken a road leading to positions of disassociation. Instead of pacification they speak of reconciliation, concluding that conditions in Italy today do not consent the use of armed struggle.

The continuist nucleus of the Red Brigades (eg Curcio) are enclosed in an unreal irreducibility, insisting on the need for the constitution of the Combatant Communist Party. They have highlighted the limitations and defects of armed struggle and the organisation that have practised it over the past years. They say it is possible to use revolutionary violence but that it has not managed to unite all the expressions of the proletariat over the past years. A critique has been made of those who lived and still live the myth of the Red Brigades as monolithic armed vanguard. So the concept of the party in the third-internationalist sense has fallen, giving way to the conception of a guerilla attacking proletarian contradictions from within. In December 1983 they began a hunger strike in the prison of Nuoro against prison conditions. They have since instored a relationship with the catholic church recognising it in the role of prisoners' defence.

There also exist, however, many comrades who criticise political solutions. They support the need for taking up the struggle again—both inside and outside the prisons—and seeing the problem of prison within the whole perspective of liberation from the capitalist system.

## More on Amnesty

While the massacre continues in South Africa, the hangman Botha is trying to create a veneer of softening the white bourgeois regime through the repeal of the laws on intermarriage between blacks and whites. A turning on to the road of superstructural reforms, leaving intact the basic structure of exploitation.

Another highlight of this democratisation of the Botha regime has been the ultimatum proffered to Nelson Mandela, incarcerated in the dungeons of apartheid now for 22 years after being sentenced to life imprisonment for sabotage, to renounce the struggle along

with other ANC (African National Congress) prisoners.

So in terms of the South African government, Mandela "has only himself to blame" for his continuing incarceration in the strongholds of capitalist domination and greed. He was offered his release "on the condition that he renounce armed struggle."

From his cell in Pollsmoor prison near Capetown his reply was broadcast and reported by the liberal media.

*I am not a violent man...it was only when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle. Let Botha renounce violence. Let him say he will dismantle apartheid...let him unban the ANC...let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished, or exiled for opposition to apartheid...I am not less life-loving than you are. But I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free...*

*What freedom am I being offered when I must ask for permission to live in an urban area? What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected.*

*Only free men can negotiate... prisoners cannot enter into contract. I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free.*

Nelson Mandela

the police represent the symbols of effectiveness rather than provide the reality of it.

More than 85 per cent of the crimes known to the police are solved by the public (still according to our worthy researchers), who provide most of the crucial information. Hence the great police drive in neighbourhoods, schools, etc, appealing to the policeman that beats in everyman's heart, using the media inflation of acts of basic survival into an alarming crimewave to arouse public vigilance.

These schemes have been welcomed with enthusiasm in the middle class areas, the occupants of which spend their lives being cops in one way or another: filling in registers, report cards, log books, and all the other records of exploitation. Not so in the proletarian ghettos, where the struggle for survival creates its own laws and its own code of practise.

In fact from these areas, especially among young black people, there is no mystification as to the role of the police and their schemes. Not only have they refused en masse to police their own people either formally or informally, they have also refused point blank to participate in ID parades. Hence the frequent presence of uniformed and plain-clothes police at the top of the Brixton tube station escalator: anyone traveling up it at one of these moments risks being *recognised* by a witness and feeling the icy grip of the handcuffs in the new public ID parade.

## Neighborhood Watch

In Orlando, Florida, a pilot scheme using drivers from local businesses has been launched, developed by the Greater Orlando Crime Prevention Association. The so-called Mobile Watch consists of volunteers trained as "extra eyes and ears" of the police. Local company fleet drivers are trained by police to spot and report "emergencies or suspicious criminal activity." All reports are immediately relayed to police headquarters either directly or through company dispatchers.

This brings to mind a recent report from the communications research group in applied psychology at Aston University which dispelled the myth—held by both public and police—of the police as great solvers of crime. In actual fact

## Pannekoek on Trade Unionism

How must the working class fight capitalism in order to win? This is the all important question facing the workers every day. What efficient means of action, what tactics can they use to conquer power and defeat the enemy? No science, no theory, could tell them exactly what to do. But spontaneously and instinctively, by feeling out, by sensing the possibilities, they found their ways of action. And as capitalism grew and conquered the earth and increased its power, the power of the workers also increased. New modes of action, wider and more efficient, came up beside the old ones. It is evident that with changing conditions, the

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forms of action, the tactics of the class struggle have to change also.

Trade unionism is the primary form of labour movement in fixed capitalism.

The isolated worker is powerless against the capitalistic employer. To overcome this handicap, the workers organise into unions. The union binds workers together into common action, with the strike as their weapon. Then the balance of power is relatively equal, or is sometimes even heaviest on the side of the workers, so that the isolated small employer is weak against the mighty union. Hence in developed capitalism trade unions and employers unions (Associations, Trusts, Corporations, etc), stand as fighting powers against each other. Trade unionism first arose in England, where industrial capitalism first developed. Afterward it spread to other countries, as a natural companion of capitalist industry. In the United States there were very special conditions. In the beginning, the abundance of free unoccupied land, open to settlers, made for a shortage of workers in the towns and relatively high wages and good conditions. The American Federation of Labour became a power in the country, and generally was able to uphold a relatively high standard of living for the workers who were organised in its unions.

It is clear that under such conditions the idea of overthrowing capitalism could not for a moment arise in the minds of the workers. Capitalism offered them a sufficient and fairly secure living. They did not feel themselves a separate class whose interests were hostile to the existing order; they were part of it; they were conscious of partaking in all the possibilities of an ascending capitalism in a new continent. There was room for millions of people, coming mostly from Europe. For these increasing millions of farmers, a rapidly increasing industry was necessary, where, with energy and good luck, workmen could rise to become free artisans, small business men, even rich capitalists. It is natural that here a true capitalist spirit prevailed in the working class.

The same was the case in England. Here it was due to England's monopoly of world commerce and big industry, to the lack of

competitors on foreign markets, and to the possession of rich colonies, which brought enormous wealth to England. The capitalist class had no need to fight for its profits and could allow the workers a reasonable living. Of course, at first, fighting was necessary to urge this truth upon them; but then they could allow unions and grant wages in exchange for industrial peace. So here also the working class was imbued with the capitalist spirit.

Now this is entirely in harmony with the innermost character of trade unionism. Trade unionism is an action of the workers, which does not go beyond the limit of capitalism. Its aim is not to replace capitalism by another form of production, but to secure good living conditions within capitalism. Its character is not revolutionary, but conservative.

Certainly, trade union action is class struggle. There is a class antagonism in capitalism—capitalists and workers have opposing interests. Not only on the question of conservation of capitalism, but also within capitalism itself, with regard to the division of the total product. The capitalists attempt to increase their profits, the surplus value, as much as possible, by cutting down wages and increasing the hours or the intensity of labour. On the other hand, the workers attempt to increase their wages and to shorten their hours of work.

The price of labour power is not a fixed quantity, though it must exceed a certain hunger minimum; and it is not paid by the capitalists of their own free will. Thus this antagonism becomes the object of a contest, the real class struggle. It is the task, the function of the trade unions to carry on this fight.

Trade unionism was the first training school in proletarian virtue, in solidarity as the spirit of organised fighting. It embodied the first form of proletarian organised fighting. In the early English and American trade unions this virtue often petrified and degenerated into a narrow craft-corporation, a true capitalistic state of mind. It was different, however, where the workers had to fight for their very existence, where the utmost efforts of their unions could hardly uphold their standard of living, here the full force of an energetic, fighting, and

expanding capitalism attacked them. There they had to learn the wisdom that only the revolution could definitely save them.

So there comes a disparity between the working class and trade unionism. The working class has to look beyond capitalism. Trade unionism lives entirely within capitalism and cannot look beyond it. Trade unionism can only represent a part, a necessary but narrow part, in the class struggle. And it develops aspects which bring it into conflict with the greater aims of the working class.

With the growth of capitalism and big industry the unions too must grow. They become big corporations with thousands of members, extending over the whole country, with sections in every town and every factory. Officials must be appointed: presidents, secretaries, treasurers, to conduct the affairs, to manage the finances, locally and centrally. They are the leaders, who negotiate with the capitalists and who by this practice have acquired a special skill. The president of a union is a big shot, as big as the capitalist employer himself, and he discusses with him, on equal terms, the interests of his members. The officials are specialists in trade union work, which the members, entirely occupied by their factory work cannot judge or direct themselves.

So large a corporation as a union is not simply an assembly of single workers; it becomes an organised body, like a living organism, with its own policy, its own character, its own mentality, its own traditions, its own functions. It is a body with its own interests, which are separate from the interests of the working class. It has a will to live and to fight for its existence. If it should come to pass that unions were no longer necessary for the workers, then they would not simply disappear. Their funds, their members, and their officials: all of these are realities that will not disappear at once, but continue their existence as elements of the organisation.

The union officials, the labour leaders, are the bearers of the special union interests. Originally workmen from the shop, they acquire, by long practice at the head of the organisation, a new social character. In each social group, once it is big enough to form a special group, the nature of its work moulds

and determines its social character, its mode of thinking and acting. The officials' function is entirely different from that of the workers. They do not work in factories, they are not exploited by capitalists, their existence is not threatened continually by unemployment. They sit in offices, in fairly secure positions. They have to manage corporation affairs and to speak at workers' meetings and discuss with employers. Of course they have to stand for the workers, and to defend their interests and wishes against the capitalists. This is, however, not very different from the position of the lawyer who, appointed secretary of an organisation, will stand for its members and defend their interests to the full of his capacity.

However, there is a difference. Because many of the labour leaders came from the ranks of workers, they have experienced for themselves what wage slavery and exploitation means. They feel as members of the working class and the proletarian spirit often acts as a strong tradition in them. But the new reality of their life continually tends to weaken this tradition. Economically they are not proletarians any more. They sit in conferences with the capitalists, bargaining over wages and hours, pitting interests against interests, just as the opposing interests of the capitalist corporations are weighed one against another. They learn to understand the capitalist's position just as well as the worker's position; they have an eye for *the needs of industry*; they try to mediate. Personal exceptions occur, of course, but as a rule they cannot have that elementary class feeling of the workers, who do not understand and weigh capitalist interests against their own, but will fight for their proper interests. Thus they get into conflict with the workers.

The labour leaders in advanced capitalism are numerous enough to form a special group or class with a special class character and interests. As representatives and leaders of the unions they embody the character and the interests of the unions. The unions are necessary elements of capitalism, so the leaders feel necessary too, as useful citizens in capitalist society. The capitalist function of unions is to regulate class conflicts and to secure industrial peace. So labour leaders see it as their duty as citizens

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to work for industrial peace and mediate in conflicts. The test of the union lies entirely within capitalism; so labour leaders do not look beyond it. The instinct of self-preservation, the will of the unions to live and fight for existence, is embodied in the will of the labour leaders to fight for the existence of the unions. Their own existence is indissolubly connected with the existence of the unions. This is not meant in a petty sense, that they only think of their personal jobs when fighting for the unions. It means that primary necessities of life and social functions determine opinions. Their whole life is concentrated in the unions, only here have they a task. So the most necessary organ of society, the only source of security and power is to them the unions; hence they must be preserved and defended by all possible means, even when the realities of capitalist society undermine this position. This happens when capitalism's expansion class conflicts become sharper.

The concentration of capital in powerful concerns and their connection with big finance renders the position of the capitalist employers much stronger than the workers'. Powerful industrial magnates reign as monarchs over large masses of workers; they keep them in absolute subjection and do not allow 'their' men to go into unions. Now and then the heavily exploited wage slaves break out in revolt, in a big strike. They hope to enforce better terms, shorter hours, more humane conditions, the right to organise. Union organisers come to aid them. But then the capitalist masters use their social and political power. The strikers are driven from their homes; they are shot by militia or hired thugs; their spokesmen are railroaded into jail; their relief actions are prohibited by court injunctions. The capitalist press denounces their cause as disorder, murder and revolution; public opinion is aroused against them. Then, after months of standing firm and of heroic suffering, exhausted by misery and disappointment, unable to make a dent on the ironclad capitalist structure, they have to submit and to postpone their claims to more opportune times.

In the trades where unions exist as mighty organisations, their position is weakened by

this same concentration of capital. The large funds they had collected for strike support are insignificant in comparison to the money power of their adversaries. A couple of lock-outs may completely drain them. No matter how hard the capitalist employer presses upon the worker by cutting wages and intensifying their hours of labour, the union cannot wage a fight. When contracts have to be renewed, the union feels itself the weaker party. It has to accept the bad terms the capitalists offer; no skill in bargaining avails. But now the trouble with the rank and file members begins. The men want to fight; they will not submit before they have fought; and they have not much to lose by fighting. The leaders, however, have much to lose—the financial power of the union, perhaps its existence. They try to avoid the fight, which they consider hopeless. They have to convince the men that it is better to come to terms. So, in the final analysis, they must act as spokesmen of the employers to force the capitalists' terms upon the workers. It is even worse when the workers insist on fighting in opposition to the decision of the unions. Then the union's power must be used as a weapon to subdue the workers.

So the labour leader has become the slave of his capitalistic task of securing industrial peace—now at the cost of the workers, though he meant to serve them as best he could. He can not look beyond capitalism, and within the horizon of capitalism with a capitalist outlook, he is right when he thinks that fighting is of no use. To criticise him can only mean that trade unionism stands here at the limit of its power.

Is there another way out then? Could the workers win anything by fighting? Probably they will lose the immediate issue of the fight; but they will gain something else. By not submitting without having fought, they rouse the spirit of revolt against capitalism. They proclaim a new issue. But here the whole working class must join in. To the whole class, all their fellow workers, they must show that in capitalism there is no future for them, and that only by fighting, not as a trade union, but as a united class, they can win. This means the beginning of a revolutionary struggle. And when their fellow workers understand this lesson, when simultaneous strikes break out

in other trades, when a wave of rebellion goes over the country, then in the arrogant hearts of the capitalists there may appear some doubt as to their omnipotence and some willingness to make concessions.

The trade union leader does not understand this point of view, because trade unionism cannot reach beyond capitalism. He opposes this kind of fight. Fighting capitalism in this way means at the same time rebellion against the trade unions. The labour leader stands beside the capitalist in their common fear of the workers' rebellion.

When the trade unions fought against the capitalist class for better working conditions, the capitalist class hated them, but it had not the power to destroy them completely. If the trade unions would try to raise all the forces of the working class in their fight, the capitalist class would persecute them with all its means. They may see their actions repressed as rebellion, their offices destroyed by militia, their leaders thrown in jail and fined, their funds confiscated. On the other hand, if they keep their members from fighting, the capitalist class may consider them as valuable institutions, to be preserved and protected, and their leaders as deserving citizens. So the trade unions find themselves between the devil and the deep blue sea; on the one side persecution, which is a tough thing to bear for people who meant to be peaceful citizens; on the other side, the rebellion of the members, which may undermine the unions. The capitalist class, if it is wise, will recognise that a bit of sham fighting must be allowed to uphold the influence of the labour leaders over the members.

The conflicts arising here are not anyone's fault; they are an inevitable consequence of capitalist development. Capitalism exists, but it is at the same time on the way to ruin. It must be fought as a living thing, and at the same time, as a transitory thing. The workers must wage a steady fight for wages and working conditions, while at the same time communistic ideas, more or less clear and conscious, awaken in their minds. They cling to the unions, feeling that these are still necessary, trying now and then to transform them into better fighting institutions. But the spirit of trade unionism,

which} is in its pure form a capitalist spirit, is not in the workers. The divergence between these two tendencies in capitalism and in the class struggle appears now as a rift between the trade union spirit, mainly embodied in their leaders, and the growing revolutionary feeling of the members. This rift becomes apparent in the opposite positions they take on various important social and political questions.

Trade unionism is bound to capitalism; it has its best chances to obtain good wages when capitalism flourishes. So in times of depression it must hope that prosperity will be restored, and it must try to further it. To the workers as a class, the prosperity of capitalism is not at all important. When it is weakened by crisis or depression, they have the best chance to attack it, to strengthen the forces of the revolution, and to take the first steps toward freedom.

Capitalism extends its dominion over foreign continents, seizing their natural treasures in order to make big profits. It conquers colonies, subjugates the primitive population and exploits them, often with horrible cruel ties. The working class denounces colonial exploitation and opposes it, but trade unionism often supports colonial politics as a way to capitalist prosperity.

With the enormous increases of capital in modern times, colonies and foreign countries are being used as places in which to invest large sums of capital. They become valuable possessions as markets for big industry and as producers of raw materials. A race for getting colonies, a fierce conflict of interests over the dividing up of the world arises between the great capitalist States. In these politics of imperialism the middle classes are whirled along in a common exaltation of national greatness. Then the trade unions side with the master class, because they consider the prosperity of their own national capitalism to be dependent on its success in the imperialist struggle. For the working class, imperialism means increasing power and brutality of their exploiters. These conflicts of interests between the national capitalisms explode into wars. World war is the crowning of the policy of imperialism. For the workers, war is not only the destruction of all their feelings of international brotherhood,

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it also means the most violent exploitation of their class for capitalist profit. The working class, as the most numerous and the most oppressed class of society, has to bear all the horrors of war. The workers have to give not only their labour power, but also their health and their lives.

Trade unions, however, in war must stand upon the side of the capitalist. Its interests are bound up with national capitalism, the victory of which it must wish with all its heart. Hence it assists in arousing strong national feelings and national hatred. It helps the capitalist class to drive the workers into war and to beat down all opposition.

Trade unionism abhors communism. Communism takes away the very basis of its existence. In communism, in the absence of capitalist employers, there is no room for the trade union and labour leaders. It is true that in countries with a strong socialist movement, where the bulk of the workers are socialists, the labour leaders must be socialists too, by origin as well as by environment. But then they are right-wing socialists; and their socialism is restricted to the idea of a commonwealth where instead of greedy capitalists honest labour leaders will manage industrial production.

Trade unionism hates revolution. Revolution upsets all the ordinary relations between capitalists and workers. In its violent clashings, all those careful tariff regulations are swept away; in the strife of its gigantic forces the modest skill of the bargaining labour leaders loses its value. With all its power, trade unionism opposes the ideas of revolution and communism.

This opposition is not without significance. Trade unionism is a power in itself. It has considerable funds at its disposal, as material element of power. It has its spiritual influence, upheld and propagated by its periodical papers as mental element of power. It is a power in the hands of leaders, who make use of it wherever the special interests of trade unions come into conflict with the revolutionary interests of the working class. Trade unionism, though built up by the workers and consisting of workers, has turned into a power over and above the workers, just as government is a power over

and above the people.

The forms of trade unionism are different for different countries, owing to the different forms of development in capitalism. Nor do they always remain the same in every country. When they seem to be slowly dying away, the fighting spirit of the workers is sometimes able to transform them, or to build up new types of unionism. Thus in England, in the years 1880-90, the *new unionism* sprang up from the masses of poor dockers and the other badly paid, unskilled workers, bringing a new spirit into the old craft unions. It is a consequence of capitalist development, that in founding new industries and in replacing skilled labour by machine power, it accumulates large bodies of unskilled workers, living in the worst of conditions. Forced at last into a wave of rebellion, into big strikes, they find the way to unity and class consciousness. They mould unionism into a new form, adapted to a more highly developed capitalism. Of course, when afterwards capitalism grows to still mightier forms, the new unionism cannot escape the fate of all unionism, and then it produces the same inner contradictions.

The most notable form sprang up in America, in the Industrial Workers of the World. The IWW originated from two forms of capitalist expansion. In the enormous forests and plains of the West, capitalism reaped the natural riches by Wild West methods of fierce and brutal exploitation; and the worker/adventurers responded with as wild and jealous a defence. And in the eastern states new industries were founded upon the exploitation of millions of poor immigrants, coming from countries with a low standard of living, and now subjected to sweatshop labour or other most miserable working conditions.

Against the narrow craft spirit of the old unionism, of the AF of L, which divided the workers of one industrial plant into a number of separate unions, the IWW put the principle that all workers of one factory, as comrades against one master, must form one union, to act as a strong unity against the employer. Against the multitude of often jealous and bickering trade unions, the IWW raised the slogan: one big union for all the workers. The fight of one group is the

cause of all. Solidarity extends over the entire class. Contrary to the haughty disdain of the well-paid old American skilled labour towards the unorganised immigrants, it was these worst-paid proletarians who the IWW led into the fight. They were too poor to pay high fees and build up ordinary trade unions. But when they broke out and revolted in big strikes, it was the IWW that taught them how to fight, that raised relief funds all over the country, and that defended their cause in its papers and before the courts. By a glorious series of big battles it infused the spirit of organisation and self-reliance into the hearts of these masses. Contrary to the trust in the big funds of the old unions, the Industrial Workers put their confidence in the living solidarity and the force of endurance, upheld by a burning enthusiasm. Instead of the heavy stone-masoned buildings of the old unions, they represented the principle of flexible construction, with a fluctuating membership, contracting in time of peace, swelling and growing in the fight itself. Contrary to the conservative capitalist spirit of trade unionism, the Industrial Workers were anti-capitalist and stood for Revolution. Therefore they were persecuted with intense hatred by the whole capitalist world. They were thrown into jail and tortured on false accusations; a new crime was even invented for them, that of "criminal syndicalism."

Industrial unionism alone as a method of fighting the capitalist class is not sufficient to overthrow capitalist society and to conquer the world for the working class. It fights the capitalists as employers on the economic field of production, but it has not the means to overthrow their political stronghold, the State power. Nevertheless, the IWW so far has been the most revolutionary organisation in America. More than any other it contributed to rouse class consciousness and insight, solidarity and unity in the working class, to turn its eyes towards communism, and to prepare its fighting power.

The lesson of all these fights is that against big capitalism, trade unionism cannot win. And if at times it wins, such victories give only temporary relief. And yet, these fights are necessary and must be fought. To the bitter end?—no, to the better end.

The reason is obvious. An isolated group

of workers might be equal to a fight against an isolated capitalist employer. But an isolated group of workers against an employer backed by the whole capitalist class is powerless. And such is the case here: the State power, the money power of capitalism, public opinion of the middle class, excited by the capitalist press, all attack the group of fighting workers.

But does the working class back the strikers? The millions of other workers do not consider this fight as their own cause. Certainly they sympathise, and may often collect money for the strikers, and this may give some relief, provided its distribution is not forbidden by a judge's injunction. But this easy-going sympathy leaves the real fight to the striking group alone. The millions stand aloof, passive. So the fight cannot be won (except in some special cases, when the capitalists, for business reasons, prefer to grant concessions), because the working class does not fight as one undivided unit.

The matter will be different, of course, when the mass of workers really consider such a contest as directly concerning them; when they find that their own future is at stake. If they go into the fight themselves and extend the strike to other factories, to ever more branches of industry, then the State power, the capitalist power, has to be divided and cannot be used entirely against the separate group of workers. It has to face the collective power of the working class.

Extension of the strike, ever more widely, into, finally, a general strike, has often been advised as a means to avert defeat. But to be sure, this is not to be taken as a truly expedient pattern, accidentally hit upon, and ensuring victory. If such were the case, trade unions certainly would have made use of it repeatedly as regular tactics. It cannot be proclaimed at will by union leaders, as a simple tactical measure. It must come forth from the deepest feelings of the masses, as the expression of their spontaneous initiative, and this is aroused only when the issue of the fight is or grows larger than a simple wage contest of one group. Only then will the workers put all their force, their enthusiasm, their solidarity, their power of endurance into it.

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And all these forces they will need. For capitalism also will bring into the field stronger forces than before. It may have been defeated and taken by surprise by the unexpected exhibition of proletarian force and thus have made concessions. But then, afterwards, it will gather new forces out of the deepest roots of its power and proceed to win back its position. So the victory of the workers is neither lasting nor certain. There is no clear open road to victory; the road itself must be hewn and built through the capitalist jungle at the cost of immense efforts.

But even so, it will mean great progress. A wave of solidarity has gone through the masses, they have felt the immense power of class unity, their self-confidence is raised, they have shaken off the narrow group egotism. Through their own deeds they have acquired new wisdom: what capitalism means and how they stand as a class against the capitalist class. They have seen a glimpse of their way to freedom.

Thus the narrow field of trade union struggle widens into the broad field of class struggle. But now the workers themselves must change. They have to take a wider view of the world. From their trade, from their work within the factory walls, their mind must widen to encompass society as a whole. Their spirit must rise above the petty things around them. They have to face the State; they enter the realm of politics. The problems of revolution must be dealt with.

## The Miners Strike at Carmaux

*This is part of Emile Henri's speech to the jury during his trial in April 1894 where he was accused, among other things, of leaving a bomb inside the door of 11 avenue de l'Opera, at the offices of the Carmaux mine company. The bomb was discovered and taken to the police headquarters nearby where it exploded, killing four policemen and a Carmaux messenger.*

I had carefully followed the events at Carmaux. The first news of the strike had filled me with joy; the miners seemed to want to have nothing more to do with those useless, peaceful strikes where the worker patiently waits for the time

when his few francs triumph over the companies' millions.

They seemed to have entered upon the path of violence as was finally shown on 15th August 1892.

The offices and buildings of the mine were invaded by a crowd who were tired of suffering without taking revenge; justice was coming to the engineer, so despised by his workers, when the fainthearted intervened.

Who were these people?

The very same ones who wreck all revolutionary movements, because they fear that once underway they will no longer be obeyed, these people who force thousands of men to endure hardship for months on end, so that they can then make a big noise about their sufferings and create for themselves a popularity allowing them to claim a mandate—these men indeed assumed the leadership of the strike movement.

Suddenly a crowd of grandiloquent gentlemen appeared in the region who put themselves at the disposal of the strike, organised subscriptions, set up meetings, and appealed for funds from all sides. The miners placed all initiative in their hands. What happened then is now history.

The strike dragged on. Their hunger, from which they were never free, became even greater; they used the union's small reserve funds to buy food, as well as the money given by supporting organisations, then, after two months they returned to the pits crestfallen and more wretched than before.

It would have been so easy from the beginning to attack the company's sole weak point—money; burn the stocks of coal, break up the mining equipment, and demolish the drainage pumps.

There is no doubt the company would have very soon given way. But the great pontiffs of socialism are not ones for such methods because they are anarchist methods. If you play this game you run the risk of prison and, who knows, perhaps one of those bullets which worked such wonders at Fourmies. And there will be no seats on municipal councils or legislatures. In short, after a momentary disturbance, order reigned once more at Carmaux.

The company, more powerful than ever,

continued its exploitation and the shareholders congratulated themselves on the happy outcome of the strike. After all, there were still dividends to reap.

It was because of this that I decided to add my own voice to that happy chorus, one that the bourgeoisie had already heard but they thought had died with Ravachol: the voice of dynamite. I wanted to show the bourgeoisie that from that time on there would be an end to their joy, their insolent triumphs would be disturbed, and their golden calf would tremble violently on its pedestal until the final push casts it down into the blood and the filth.

At the same time I wanted to show the miners that there is only one group of men men, the anarchists, who genuinely feel and understand their suffering and are ready to avenge them.

## Vegetarian or Vegetate?

Among the many schemas to which the movement of opposition has become a slave, one of the most diffused is that of vegetarianism. To eat meat has become one of the ideologically unsound crimes against... what? Against whom? On cashing their dole cheques young comrades resist the temptation to buy a pork pie or a sausage roll to return to the fold and devoutly ingest lentils, brown rice and organically grown vegetables (in order to avoid the toxins of DDT or to prevent a further massacre of slugs, greenfly or others of the more humble species of the animal kingdom?). So who defines what is an animal and what is not? Does it have a brain? Does it feel? Must it have big brown eyes, or can it have the creepy feelers of the spider or the slimyness of the worm? Where do we start? And hasn't it been proved beyond doubt that plants, ie carrots, cabbages, potatoes (or are they simply the "lower echelons" of the plant kingdom, leading the way to the superrace of trees and ornamental plants?), also scream at the assassin's knife. Aren't they too at the mercy of we Humans, masters (for now) of the universe?

Do we discard our much-loved leather

jackets and studded boots in favour of synthetic plastics fabricated at the cost of thousands of human lives on the oil rigs, petrol refineries, the polluted ghettos in the shanty towns of industrial waste? And doesn't the soap so diligently applied to hold up our crests come from whale's blubber?

As we can see, to continue in this vein leads us to the logic of the medieval theologians arguing about how many angels can be balanced on the end of a needle. And how many of the classless angels of the ecology movement know that Hitler too was a devout vegetarian? Not only Hitler, but the whole of the pre-Nazi commune movement of the time?

Today the new *clean nazis*, the so-called strasserites, are among the protagonists of the great ecological swindle. The ecology movement has become a murky reservoir for a cohabitation of monarchists, monarchs (isn't Prince Charles himself officially a vegetarian?), fascists, secret services, pacifists, and punks.

And before it can be said that the present writer is trying to impose world-wide carnivorous, let us hasten to say that in our opinion there is no one facet of social activity that can be separated from the rest and followed to an ultimate ideal to the exclusion of everything else. This is a certain road to interclassism, whether it be that of vegetarianism, feminism, pacifism, alleviating starvation, or any of the other causes so fashionable today.

The horrors of forced farming and the slaughter of baby seals are but one tiny part of the result of capital's total negation of individual responsibility and feeling in every sphere of life on and beyond this planet. Equally, the reality of each horror cannot be put aside to wait for better times. We must act now in the single aspects of the general plan of exploitation, but using means that unite us in the totality of revolutionary struggle: those of attacking the common enemy. This will immediately distinguish us from the forces of moral indignation and reform—power structures such as the church, the neo-church, and the State in all its forms—whose only aim is to change everything in order for everything to stay the same.

# Anarchism and the National Liberation Struggle

translated from IRL *Journal d'expressions libertaires*

One thing that strikes us from the beginning is the almost total absence of movements that or individuals who refer to anarchism in third world countries. This (sad) fact leads to a number of consequences. Judging things from the outside, libertarians have difficulty in appreciating the conflicts that are tearing the world apart.

Lack of information, difficulty in putting aside western ideas to make room for others, activities carried out in their own countries, etc... does not motivate them to concern themselves with struggles far removed from their habitual point of view. All the more so as the content of these struggles does not favour unreserved adhesion.

Quite on the contrary: the affirmation of a national identity evaluates one people or ethnic group and develops xenophobic feelings towards foreigners.

Carriers of a Statist project, national liberation movements try to replace one nationalism with another, one power with another.

In the great nationalist family all the political tendencies cohabit, and the composition of the 'Fronts' seems quite ambiguous.

Anarchists therefore have a tendency to put coloniser and colonised alongside each other. Fearing they might compromise themselves in a combat whose objectives turn out to be contrary to their ideas, they prefer to keep prudently out of the way. But this attitude traps them.

First of all it leaves the field open to marxism. The social and insurrectional movements which have been exploding for dozens of years in the world have passed by libertarians (apart from a few exceptions such as the support given by some to the Algerian struggle during the war of independence). In this way their project for society seems to address itself to the west alone, and the socialist model becomes the only possible alternative in the eyes of the oppressed,

whereas it has largely proved its failure.

Next, by refusing to take a position among the various protagonists, anarchists comfort the position of the imperialist aggressor. In assuring no international support to its victims, they contribute to continuing the established system of exploitation. Any reference to nationalism provokes among a number of them a kind of mental block, making them lose sight of the reality of colonialism.

In the name of this reality and in view of historical experience, it is time to ask oneself whether the anarchist idea would not benefit by being otherwise defended. Its credibility depends on it. Because to abandon the field of struggle—on the pretext of conserving ideological purity—by considering the national liberation movement should be condemned as a whole is in no way constructive.

A nationalist current is a sum of complex and ambiguous interests. It serves as a trampoline for the representatives of the future dominant class who, by overcoming colonial power wish to satisfy their own ambitions. But it also represents a way for the colonised people to escape from their miserable situation and freeing themselves.

Nationalism rests on the sentiment of belonging, on a whole cultural and linguistic set of values shared by a community. Oppressed countries oppose these values to those of the oppressor, affirming their differences, claiming the right to master their own destiny. Libertarians, for their part, refuse a levelling of cultures. They attach value to the differences between peoples—because that is their wealth—and defend the federalist idea. They cannot therefore ignore the aspirations of a colonised people to have its cultural identity recognised.

Moreover, certain ideas released during the struggle are open to meeting their adhesion. Thus the self-managing experiences developed just after the independence of Algeria by numerous agricultural workers took on a logic closer to the anarchist one than that of the national liberation front.

It is obviously not a question of anarchists defending any nationalist struggle under the pretext that it is a response to external aggression. It is more a question of examining the con-

tent of the nationalist claims of the proposed programme to replace the existing one, to decipher the (eventual) revolutionary aspects. This with the aim of giving critical—and not unconditional—support to the exploited, according to their defined objectives.

Actions of anarchists in favour of the colonised country can take place at various levels:

- By placing the class struggle within the combat against imperialism. In other words, by insisting in the aggressing countries on the idea that proletarians of the aggressing countries are not imperialists even if, objectively speaking, they are playing the game of the imperialist State and the capitalists (when they make arms to be used against the oppressed peoples, for example).
- By making an effort to establish relations between the oppressed classes of the imperialist and colonised countries. To do that anarchists must struggle against the nationalism of the working class in the western States, ie, against their adhesion to a nationalistic ideology ("build British" and other such slogans of the unions and so-called communist parties), and try to develop internationalist sentiments among them.

In fact, the exploiting classes of the colonising and colonised country are apparently far more internationalist than the exploited classes. (That is in both their interests, but the former perceive it far better than then the latter: the multinationals, the world arms market show that clearly). Relations between bourgeoisies of the oppressed and oppressing States in fact become conflictual when their interests begin to contradict each other at a certain point in economic development. The former realise that only taking power will satisfy their ambitions.

On the contrary, relations between the oppressed in the exploiting country and that of the exploited are not conflictual but, blinded by State propaganda, they are hardly aware of it.

- By attacking the aggressing States to demolish their ideology. In the case of Israel, for example, anarchists must criticise the State as a State, but also denounce the Zionist ideology that supports it; the imperialism of a fascist power such as South Africa. One must show them

that all States can contain aspects of fascism.

Fascism is an aberration of the State and can appear as soon as the directors feel the need for it. Moreover, to go to the aid of the Palestinian people does not mean to support the OLP, partisan of the creation of a Palestinian State.

In fact it often seems difficult to do anything to advance a national liberation struggle from the outside without leading or giving lessons. But to interrogate oneself on the possibility of assuring solidarity can provoke reflection. Carrier of many different contents according to the individuals and groupings who make reference to nationalism, the struggle for national liberation has itself a purely negative value: that of bringing exploitation to an end. On the contrary, when based on the evaluation of an ethnic group, on a people as opposed to the foreigner, it can, once in power, develop a mystique that tends to obliterate class differences and to transform the exploited into exploiters. It is time anarchists made themselves heard. Critical support is one way to stop the creation of a State, of countering the totalitarian ideologies vehicled by the dominant nationalism. It can carry an anti-authoritarian message to colonised countries and show that the anarchist project also concerns them.

## In Times of Danger Halfway Measures Lead To Certain Death (revolutionary cells)

The peace movement, both in its composition and structure, has always wavered between radicalisation and accommodation. It has now reached a decisive point.

In recent years there have been minority groups within the peace movement that have tried to prevent forms of action degenerating into a statist adaptation, obstinately defending autonomous areas of intervention. The counter-demonstrators of Krefeld; the women of Hunsrück who entered and occupied military territory; the various peace initiatives aimed at carrying out blockades that are not simply

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symbolic and amusing, but seriously aim at preventing preparations for war; all seemed to point to a radicalisation of the movement, with the relative possibility of attacking the system without being blinded by the fear of war, and seeing instead the nuclear threat as the ultimate consequence of imperialism's strategies of exploitation and oppression. The struggle against rearmament really seemed keen to activate and become a way of contesting the very roots and legitimacy of the system, as well as a point of reference and common cause for the various disconnected movements: social, ecological, feminist, etc, contributing to unifying and strengthening them.

But this was a vain hope. Instead of clarifying and demonstrating the interdependence of rearmament crises; poverty in the so-called third world and reduction in public spending; sexism and racism, etc, and building new fronts on all those demarcation lines, exactly the opposite took place. Individuals came forward from every social sphere and united and organised against the "primary danger."

That does not detract from the fact that many have had individual experiences in the contesting of nuclear installations, which nothing and no one can take away from them. These experiences were fundamental, not only to their relationship with power, its arrogance and violence, but also for themselves, their own social role and relations between themselves. A potential for resistance the significance of which will only be put to the test in the future, was developed on the fringe of the movement. For the time being the Home Minister is publicly trying to ensure that the militant nuclei within the peace movement do not evolve to the point of becoming the "new terrorist generation." This would be a result of an imperfect statalisation of the movement, and its not-yet-complete recuperation.

#### *The overwhelming need for harmony*

We must admit, however, that the part of the peace movement that theorised and attacked the relationship between rearmament and imperialism remained a minority. Most of the movement has never wanted to hear of this. On the contrary, class struggle analyses are

deformed by a hypocritical moral dualism that denies the difference between above and below, and only recognises a difference between good and bad. Once again the ideal is pacific man. A dangerous ideal, which sees class contradictions as the product of behavioural anomalies, and tries to resolve everything through "moral regeneration," giving up in the face of material conditions. In this way peace can be nothing more than a consequence of a massified personal disarmament and of moral rearmament, never the possible product of a development of a struggle to annihilate the conditions of oppression and exploitation. And so we come to the well-worn argument of the need to find harmony in oneself before giving any credibility to the cause of peace. The significance of all that is clear: to join hands to prevent them clenching their fists.

This religious and moral concept of the world implies that engagement for peace excludes struggle, because it is the struggle itself that we are uniting against. The peace movement does not want to expose contradictions and face them, but tends to completely compartmentalise them. It is looking for oases of tranquility in a world of strident contradictions. The peace community is not only a support structure concerning the nuclear threat, it is also trying to give a positive vision of the world which is anything but wholesome, and which in fact is decaying. Perhaps it is this overwhelming need for harmony that explains the almost inconceivable combination of manifest fear and contemplative serenity that we find in peace demonstrations. Perhaps this is the origin of the obvious discrepancy between their dramatic scenes representing the consequences of a nuclear war and their innocuous forms of action. The gestures of submission, spirit of sacrifice, sophisticated religiousity, visionary commitment, the vacuous expression and the superficiality that permeates the peace demonstrations, all go to show that the peaceful struggle against missiles is used above all for internal pacification, serving to defuse that time bomb that every heart could be.

#### *Conspiracy of fear*

The mad, boundless increase in fear is the

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application of a method, the result of a cold calculation by power. It is a weapon. Given that imperialism is not able to prevent an anti-war movement, it uses every means to channel this in its favour and convert the legitimate fear of war into a mass psychosis capable of being mobilised in its own interests, ie those of perpetuating power.

Having said that, we do not want to say that fear of nuclear rearmament is unfounded, only that the related paranoia is a project of power—a project that should be denounced as a manipulatory act.

It is therefore necessary to denounce any attempt whatsoever to create and maintain an atmosphere of catastrophe. Under the veil of the threat of destruction the foundations are laid for the project of change—of the management of power. The welfare State is undone and a new politic of pauperisation, persecution, and elimination is developed. The strategists of the crisis pass off its consequences as the lesser of two evils, a necessary sacrifice to prevent a fear of greater catastrophe. The utopia of a free society comes to be given to a political moral whose only declared value is the survival of humanity.

The attempt to foment an apocalyptic atmosphere through propaganda in order to inculcate a sense of total impotence into the individual should be denounced.

In the struggle against the bosses other solutions no longer seem possible. One convinces oneself it is necessary to unite with them, the crushing threat becoming the basis of legitimacy for the actions of the imperialist State.

Finally, all attempts to use that mixture of sentiment and doom—abstractly devoid of any social point of reference, which is typical of the peace movement—are made to create a situation of submission, a training for non-violence and consensus. In this sense some groups who set themselves up as promoters are not as innocuous as they might seem.

#### *No More Civil War*

The organised areas of the peace movement have shown how easy it is to transform this wide feeling of threat, mobilising it against

the 'disrupters' (who are explicitly pointed out as such) in their reaction against those practising direct action in small groups. The impetus and rage with which the pacifists have thrown themselves, alongside the State, against the hoodlums, shows what the other side of the good man is really like. There might perhaps be individual reasons for doubting the attempt to reach one's aims with violent means. But when non-violence comes to be raised to the level of a non-violable principle, and where reality is divided into good and bad, then arguments cease to have any value, and everything is seen in terms of submission and obedience. The officials of the peace movement, by distancing themselves and denunciating others have clarified one point in particular: that they see their principles—to which they feel duty-bound—as a claim to power over the movement as a whole.

This is obviously not moral behaviour, but political calculation aiming at an internal historic compromise. A compromise to be understood "in the primary interest of the survival of the species." (Rudolf Bahro). And the apex of the peace movement heralds and guarantees this operation, reaching pacts at the top, smothering rebelliousness at the bottom. They imagine the rejection of missiles can be bartered for the promise of social peace.

Robert Jungk has said that whoever says "no more war" must add, "no more civil war." He thus upturns the historic alternatives of socialism and barbarism, civil war and genocide. So imperialist wars are not prevented. One participates in building one of their central premisses: internal social peace.

Instead of confronting reactionary transformation with a radical counter-culture, the peace movement is navigating in the wake of this transformation. Once the green philosophers abandon the proletariat to fish in the turgid waters of the reservoirs of conservatism', they must also renounce their past in the left and abandon any claims to emancipation. Women for peace are denying the fundamental concepts of the feminist movement, putting the struggle against oppression, sexism and structural violence into second place behind the great common goal.

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Some parts of the feminist movement are going back to typically feminine behavioural norms, claiming that it is in the the 'nature' of women to devote oneself to sacrifice, submission, the negation of the clash and struggle: all maxims of the peace movement. In this way femininity—something long conceived of and fought for what is a product of dominion—is reaffirmed.

#### *Open questions and non-remedies*

Only an autonomous counter-movement freed from the restrictions and levels of the peace movement, and reasserting the interdependence of crises and war, can possibly polarise the pact and create a counterweight to the peace movement's transformation into a kind of new "nationalism of liberation."

Decisive methods against rearmament are still those of creating internal disorder and breaking up the foundations of power at points where it is still possible to resist even with limited strength. Until a mass movement develops linking the question of power to a strategy of resistance against imperialist ones of annihilation, we have no choice. Our political involvement must continue to follow the course of strengthening and radicalising the left. We must not limit ourselves to a so-called principal danger, or to single aspects of social reality, but must attack the system in its totality. We must trace the lines reconnecting crisis and war; social impoverishment in the inner cities and poverty and annihilation in the so-called third world; sexism and racism; technological attack from above and ecological devastation below.

Our own ideas are not clear as to the force of the conclusions to be drawn from this brief analysis. We do not want to give the impression of knowing the answers to problems about which we ourselves are not too clear.

The new social movements—and this is amply demonstrated by the peace movement—are always compound and act in interclassist terms. They place themselves above social content, and in part veer towards the right. They become dubious as a point of reference for revolutionary praxis.

The new subjects of revolutionary change are certainly the sub-classes. But this has only

been affirmed at the level of analysis, and very little at the level of social praxis. These sub-classes are struggling and developing forms of resistance, sudden tumults and riots of brief duration which, even though very violent, differ in practice from the new social movements. Insurrections such as those of Brixton and Toxteth have nothing at all to do with traditional political campaigns. A left which makes reference to the sub-classes must review the question of organisation and the areas covered by its own forms of resistance if it wants to find ways of communicating with the base.

The problem of the conditions required to build new forms of awareness and organisation presents itself in the face of the abolition of free salaried work, and forms of labour that have moved away from class centralisation and become disintegrated and atomised. The problem of the conditions required to build new forms of awareness and organisation presents itself. To say that it will be women, immigrants, precarious workers and those threatened with insecurity who will be the protagonists of future struggles, says absolutely nothing about how subjectivity will be created when the upturning of life in the inner cities is hastened, nor about the role of the radical praxis of the left in the process of forming a class consciousness.

The third world as a whole, resistance here (in West Germany), can no longer be considered as points of departure for revolutionary change, even in the centres of capitalism. Oppressed peoples and countries can do nothing other than go through processes of partial liberation from colonial dependence. The consolidation of this process is strictly linked to the conditions of struggle at the heart of the beast and the destruction of the strongholds of capital.

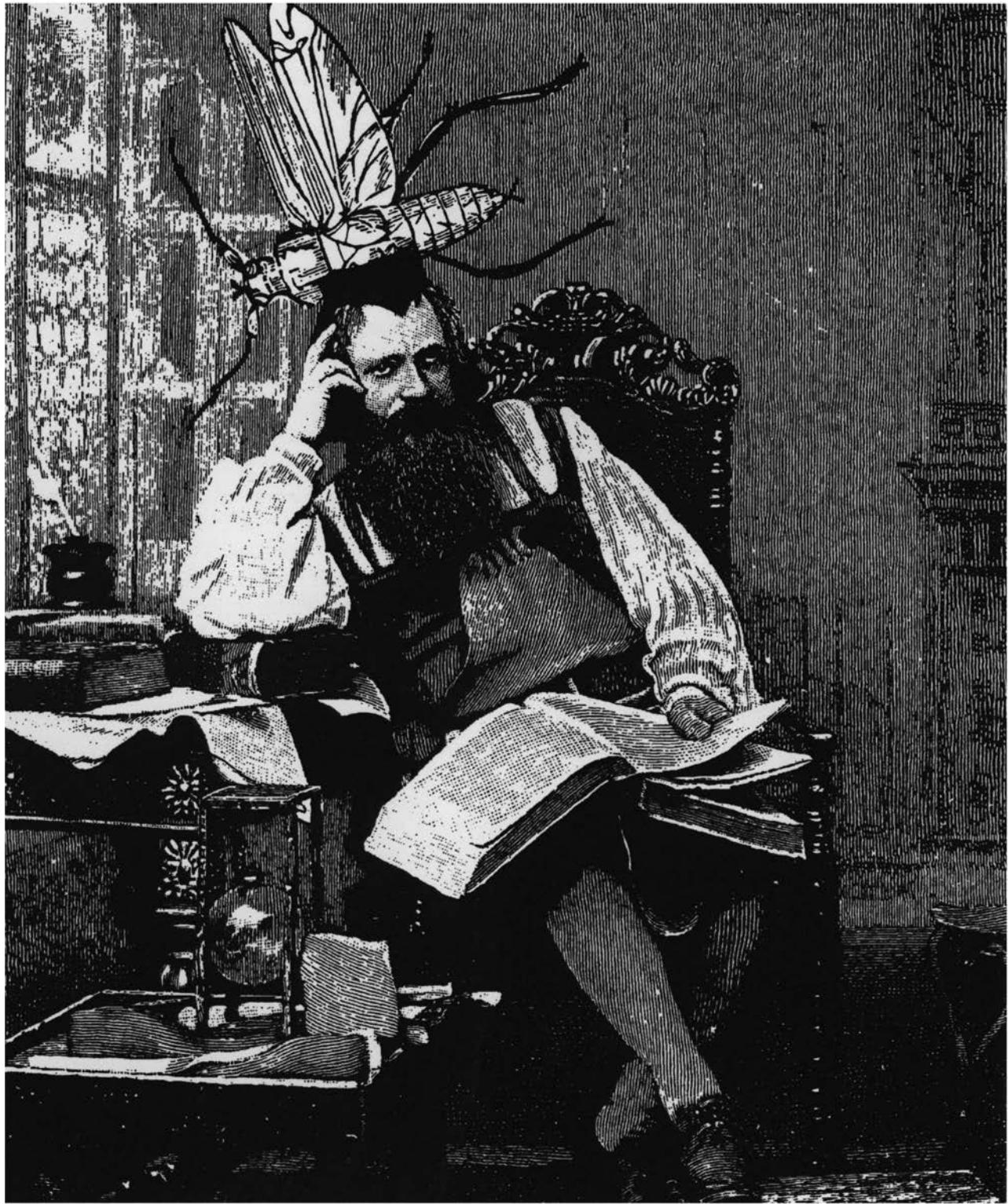
The significance of the new "strategic sectors," both sources of accumulation of wealth and instruments of dominion, must be shown practically. The problem arises as to whether these sectors will become the central targets of a revolutionary strategy of attack in the cities, and whether sabotage will be the main form of struggle organised and carried out by the radical left.

The transformation of democracies through

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economic/political upheaval will eventually reduce the left's area of legal action. This will mean a thrust towards a more radicalised form of resistance. The new social movements do not represent any protection for comrades, and do not in fact create any guaranteed space

for action, as the peace movement has clearly demonstrated. A radical left which sees its heritage as that of being able to create resistance at any time, must build structures of its own that are subversive and illegal, if they want to remain undefeated and unpredictable.



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## Editorial

### ***Back again!***

And much has happened lately to encourage us to repropose – more clearly and more directly – a road towards a form of anarchist organisation and action that is relevant to the present day.

In the period that has elapsed since we last produced an issue of *Insurrection* we have seen: a more advanced restructuring of capital, reduction in the importance of the political apparatus, the phenomenon of planetary reformism (ie Russia, China), and a tighter control over Third World struggles, all part of the ruthless trajectory of a self-propelled mechanism that will not come to a halt until it reaches the ultimate destruction of all that contains a thrust towards life – or until it is destroyed.

Not much cause for encouragement you might say. Certainly an assessment of the struggle against this reality based on the logic of counter-attack in quantitative or military terms is doomed to failure. This has been demonstrated over the past decade on the one hand by the decline in the trade unions, on the other that of the clandestine armed groups. The latter, from being the stars of the front pages all over Europe for a decade, have become in their miserable remains nothing more than a scarecrow flying a tattered flag of surrender, repentance and complicity.

But scarecrows serve against the high flyers, those who want to take over the cabbage patch to exploit it as their own. They have little effect on the contradictions within the field subjected to a planned culture which in order to survive must dominate the whole of the living terrain upon which it has imposed its project. We can see this in many areas of the world today, not least in Western Europe and Britain itself. Here the contradictions produced by the relentless restructuring of capital, the instauration of information technology, robotisation of production, redundancy of the traditional worker, urban projects of ‘social dispersion’, reduced schooling, reduced public spending, increased policing, self-policing, creation of consensus, etc, are enough to show that capital’s transition to its post-industrial phase is not going to happen smoothly. The mini-riots, intergang violence amalgamated into attacks against police, arson attacks, acts of sabotage, small actions undertaken by individuals or groups of individuals in various parts of the social terrain, all point to a new direction that the struggle is taking, one that is turning away from the old massive structures which could count thousands of members, but which substantially followed the directives of a few, filtered down through a tightly-hierarchical structure; and away from the closed, clandestine specific groups with their spectacular actions carried out in a neomilitary logic.

Small actions, therefore, easily reproducible, requiring unsophisticated means that are available to all, are by their very simplicity and spontaneity uncontrollable. They make a mockery of even the most advanced technological developments in counter-insurgency. This is what capital and the State are afraid of, this is the news that never makes the headlines but is carefully concealed from the public eye. This is the good news that we intend to spread and augment in this and our *future work*.

*With this issue of *Insurrection* we are addressing ourselves to anarchists and all those who feel themselves in a situation of antagonism against the domination of the State and capital. We also address ourselves to those who are disheartened and perhaps even disgusted by the absorption of certain structures that once held high banners and hopes within the workers movement. We address ourselves to those who have begun to see the charade of pacifism as futile in the attempt to move the nuclear industry (both civil and military) an inch. We address ourselves to those who realise that school has taught them nothing and that university is becoming more and more an annex of industrial development. We address ourselves to those who see that science is no longer neutral – if it ever was – and to those who see that the struggle against the vile experimentation on animals in all fields cannot be fought as a single issue struggle but must be brought into the global project of the capitalist enterprise. We address ourselves to those who see that the feminist movement while bringing women’s issues into the open, cannot alone bring women to be free beings. We address ourselves to those who*

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*see that although the colour of their skin is the most immediate cause of their oppression, to fight back on that level alone merely leads to a more refined form of exploitation. To those who see that even if their colonial exploiters are chased away there will still be a local bourgeoisie to contend with. To those who see that moral indignation is not enough, that simply adhering to a movement in name and having no concrete project is not enough. We address ourselves to those who want to take the risk of throwing old schema out of the window and look for a new road, an informal, flexible road, one that requires the constant engagement of comrades in a dimension of permanent conflictuality, not sporadic moments, spectacular displays of numerical strength. To those for whom reform is nothing but a support to capital. To those who are not afraid to speak of revolution without a cynical smile on their lips. For those who want everything now and are prepared to make sure they get it, realising that this can only be done through the development of both a specific anarchist movement organised informally, and the relationship of that movement with mass organisms which give themselves intermediate aims in an insurrectional logic. We address ourselves to those therefore who realise that this road is one that we must work to create, experimenting together. What we are offering here is one instrument in that project. Not abstract theory but an attempt to go forward and develop means that are adequate to the present day in the struggle towards a free society. Much of the analytical and theoretical contributions are the fruit of involvement in the struggle elsewhere in recent years, also by some of the Insurrection comrades ourselves. It is therefore also an attempt to break down some of the geographical and linguistic barriers that prevent a full development of the struggle.*

## Social Conflict

*As the clash between oppression and exploitation continues, the struggle must be direct and based on permanent conflict. Any attempt to mediate with the institutional forces leads to selling out the potential for revolutionary struggle. As the situation today becomes increasingly difficult to endure, it becomes more important to realise that attitudes of*

*accommodation and compromise are causing serious damage to the development of revolutionary struggle.*

If we intend to change our situation we cannot continue with ideology. We must examine the relations within exploitation and repression and take an unreservedly active part in the struggle. We must single out precise objectives and back them up with methods that show a subversive strategy capable of expressing a global project of proletarian self liberation.

Permanent conflictuality can only be carried out on the basis of a correct evaluation of capital and the State and their role in the social conflict.

As anarchists we know that although many people go on demonstrations, the social question cannot be resolved through mediation with the institutions. This might lead to an evolution of society but avoids the necessary destruction of all the structures of dominion. A correct analysis imposes the need to use violence. The bosses will not give up what they have spontaneously. The only thing that will be effective is the organised material strength that proletarians have at their disposition.

The knowledge that this frightens our armchair intellectuals is nothing new. Their aim is to safeguard their privilege and conceal the necessarily destructive part of the anarchist revolutionary project that is not very palatable to the many liberal democrats.

They point out the bad element inciting the arousal of class hatred, unleashing bad passions and social warfare. This perspective is demonised by those who would preserve their own personal tranquility, the bigots of the movement who extoll the virtues of nonviolence, pacifism, etc. Those who do not agree and who do not identify themselves with their practices, are deemed the violent and intolerant part of the movement who have still to learn the ways of the world.

In reality nonviolence, pacifism and tolerance are very useful to the bosses, certainly not to the exploited whose social conditions are in open contrast to concepts of resignation. Democracy is a refined system of domination, preferable to most dictatorships, but not for this does it justify compromise.

In this dimension conflictuality should be

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seen as a permanent element in the struggle against those in power. A struggle which lacks this element ends up pushing us towards mediating with the institutions, grows accustomed to the habits of delegating and believing in an illusory emancipation carried out by parliamentary decree, to the very point of actively participating in our own exploitation ourselves.

This is what is beginning to happen.

Democratic conflict invites the exploited to be passive and have faith in their "leaders", to the point of docility. But revolutionaries are refusing to water down their ideas and actions with the humanitarian chatter of the reformists.

No synthesis is possible between dominator and dominated, between exploiter and exploited. Our logic leads to the suppression of one or other of the terms. To reach this we must extend permanent conflictuality. Every experience of daily life becomes valid if it is expressed as part of an antagonistic struggle that is openly and violently against the present state of affairs.

p.p.

## Beyond Workerism, Beyond Syndicalism

Trade unionism is in its decline. In good as in evil with this structural form of struggle an era is disappearing, a model and a future world seen in terms of an improved and corrected reproduction of the old one.

We are moving towards new and profound transformations, in the productive structure, in the social structure.

Methods of struggle, perspectives, even short term projects are also transforming.

**In an expanding industrial society the trade union moves from instrument of struggle to instrument supporting the productive structure itself.**

Revolutionary syndicalism has also played its part: pushing the most combative workers forward but, at the same time, pushing them backwards in terms of capacity to see the future society or the creative needs of the revolution. Everything remained parcelled up

within the factory dimension. Workerism is not just common to authoritarian communism. Singling out privileged areas of the class clash is still today one of the most deep-rooted habits that it is difficult to lose.

This is the end of trade unionism therefore. We have been saying so for fifteen years now. At one time this caused criticism and amazement, especially when we included anarcho-syndicalism in our critique. We are more easily accepted today. Basically, who does not criticise the trade unions today? No one, or almost no one.

But the connection is overlooked. Our criticism of trade unionism was also criticism of the "quantitive" method that has all the characteristics of the party in embryo. It was also a critique of the specific organisations of synthesis. It was also a critique of class respectability borrowed from the bourgeoisie and filtered through the cliches of so-called proletarian morals. All that cannot be ignored.

**If many comrades agree with us today in our now-traditional critique of trade unionism, those who share a view of all the consequences that it gives rise to are but a few.**

We can only intervene in the world of production using means that do not place themselves in the quantitive perspective. They cannot therefore claim to have specific anarchist organisations behind them working on the hypothesis of revolutionary synthesis.

This leads us to a different method of intervention, that of building factory nuclei or zonal nuclei which limit themselves to keeping in contact with a specific anarchist structure, and are exclusively based on affinity. It is from the relationship between the base nucleus and specific anarchist structure that a new model of revolutionary struggle emerges to attack the structures of capital and the State through recourse to insurrectional methods.

**The end of syndicalism corresponds to the end of workerism For us it is also the end of the quantitive illusion of the party and the specific organisation of synthesis. The revolt of tomorrow must look for new roads**

This allows for a better following of the profound transformations that are taking place in the productive structure. The factory is about

to disappear, new productive organisations are taking its place, based mainly on automation. The workers of yesterday will become partially integrated into a supporting situation or simply into a situation of social security in the short-term, survival in the long one. New forms of work will appear on the horizon. Already the classical workers' front no longer exists. Likewise the trade union as is obvious. At least it no longer exists in the form in which we have known until now. It has become a firm like any other.

A network of increasingly different relations, all under the banner of participation, pluralism, democracy, etc, will spread over society bridling almost all the forces of subversion. The extreme aspects of the revolutionary project will be systematically criminalised.

But the struggle will take new roads, will filter towards a thousand new subterranean channels, emerging in a hundred thousand explosions of rage and destruction, with new and incomprehensible symbology.

As anarchists we must be careful, we carriers of an often heavy mortgage from the past, not to remain distanced from a phenomenon that we end up not understanding and whose violence could one fine day even scare us. And in the first case we must be careful to develop our analysis in full.

a.m.b.

## Beyond the Structure of Synthesis

*Instead of an anarchist organisation of synthesis we propose an informal anarchist organisation based on struggle and the analyses that emerge from it*

Anarchists of all tendencies refuse the model of hierarchical and authoritarian organisation. They refuse parties, vertical structures which impose directives from above in a more or less obvious way. In positing the liberatory revolution as the only social solution possible, anarchists consider that the means used in bringing about this transformation will condition the ends that are achieved. And authoritarian or-

ganisations are certainly not instruments that lead to liberation.

### **an anarchist structure such as a structure of synthesis presents not a few dangers**

At the same time it is not enough to agree with this in words alone. It is also necessary to put it into practise. In our opinion an anarchist structure such as a structure of synthesis presents not a few dangers. In our opinion an anarchist structure such as a structure of synthesis presents not a few dangers. When this kind of organisation develops to full strength as it did in Spain in '36 it begins to resemble a party. Synthesis becomes control. Certainly in quiet periods this is barely visible, so what we are saying now might seem like blasphemy.

This kind of structure is based on groups or individuals who are in more or less constant contact with each other, and has its culminating moment in periodical congresses. In these congresses the basic analysis is discussed, a programme is drawn up and tasks are divided covering the whole range of social intervention. It is an organisation of synthesis because it sets itself up as a point of reference capable of synthesizing the struggles taking place within the class clash. Various groups intervene in the struggles, give their contribution, but do not lose sight of the theoretical and practical orientation that the organisation as a whole decided upon during the congress.

Now, in our opinion, an organisation structured in this way runs the risk of being behind in respect to the effective level of the struggle, as its main aim is that of carrying the struggle to within its project of synthesis, not of pushing it towards its insurrectional realisation. One of its main objectives is quantitative growth in membership. It therefore tends to draw the struggle to the lowest common denominator by proposing caution aimed at putting a brake on any flight forwards or any choice of objectives that are too exposed or risky.

Of course that does not mean that all the groups belonging to the organisation of synthesis automatically act in this way: often comrades are autonomous enough to choose the most effective proposals and objectives in

a given situation of struggle. It is a mechanism intrinsic to the organisation of synthesis however, that leads it to making decisions that are not adequate to the situation, as the main aim of the organisation is to grow to develop as wide a front of struggle as possible. It tends not to take a clear and net position on issues, but finds a way, a political road that displeases the fewest and is digestable to most.

**the main fear is that of the unknown which pushes us towards organisational schema and formalism**

The reactions we get when making criticisms such as this are often dictated by fear and prejudice. The main fear is that of the unknown which pushes us towards organisational schema and formalism among comrades. This safeguards us from the search hinged on the risk of finding ourselves involved in unknown experiences. This is quite obvious when we see the great need some comrades have for a formal organisation that obeys the requirements of constancy, stability and work that is programmed in advance.

In reality these elements serve us in our need for certainty and not for revolutionary necessity.

On the contrary we think that the informal organisation can supply valid starting points for getting out of this uncertainty.

This different type of organisation seems to us to be capable of developing –contrary to an organisation of synthesis– more concrete and productive relationships as they are based on affinity and reciprocal knowledge. Moreover, the moment where it reaches its true potential is when it participates in concrete situations of struggle, not when drawing up theoretical or practical platforms, statutes or associative rules.

**an organisation structured informally is not built on the basis of a programme fixed in a congress**

An organisation structured informally is not built on the basis of a programme fixed in a congress. The project is realised by the comrades themselves in the course of the struggle and during the development of the struggle itself. This organisation has no privileged instrument

of theoretical and practical elaboration, nor does it have problems of synthesis. Its basic project is that of intervening in a struggle with an insurrectional objective.

However great the limitations of the comrades involved in the informal kind of anarchist organisation might be, and what the latter's defects might be, the method still seems valid to us and we consider a theoretical and practical exploration of it to be worthwhile.

g.c.

## Autonomous Base Nucleus

*Mass structures, autonomous base nuclei are the element linking the specific informal anarchist organisation to social struggles*

The autonomous base nucleus is not an entirely new form of struggle. Attempts have been made to develop these structures in Italy over the past ten years. The most notable of these was the Autonomous Movement of the Turin Railway Workers,<sup>1</sup> and the Self-managed Leagues against the cruise missile base in Comiso.<sup>2</sup>

We believe the revolutionary struggle is without doubt a mass struggle. We therefore see the need to build structures capable of organising as many groups of exploited as possible.

We have always considered the syndicalist perspective critically both because of its limitations as an instrument, and because of its tragic historical involution that no anarchist lick of paint can cover up. So we reached the hypothesis of building autonomous base nuclei lacking the characteristics of mini-syndicalist structures, having other aims and organisational relations.

**a considerable barrier of reticence and incomprehension has been met among comrades**

Through these structures an attempt has been made to link the specific anarchist movement to social struggles. A considerable

<sup>1</sup> See 'Workers' Autonomy' (Bratach Dubh)

<sup>2</sup> See 'Insurrection No 0'

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barrier of reticence and incomprehension has been met among comrades and this has been an obstacle in realising this organisational method. It is in moments of action that differences emerge among comrades who all agree in principle with anarchist propaganda, the struggle against the State, self-management and direct action. When we move into an organisational phase, however, we must develop a project that is in touch with the present level of the clash between classes.

We believe that due to profound social transformation it is unthinkable for one single structure to try to contain all social and economic struggle within it. In any case, why should the exploited have to enter and become part of a specific anarchist organisation in order to carry out their struggle?

A radical change in the way society – exploitation – is being run can only be achieved by revolution. That is why we are trying to intervene with an insurrectional project. Struggles of tomorrow will only have a positive outcome if the relationship between informal specific anarchist structure and the mass structure of autonomous base nuclei is clarified and put into effect.

The main aim of the nucleus is not to abolish the State or capital which are practicably unattackable so long as they remain a general concept. The objective of the nucleus is to fight and attack this State and this Capital in their smaller and more attainable structures, having recourse to an insurrectional method.

The autonomous base groups are mass structures and constitute the point of encounter between the informal anarchist organisation and social struggles.

The organisation within the nucleus distinguishes itself by the following characteristics:  
a) autonomy from any political, trade union, or syndical force

b) permanent conflictuality (a constant and effective struggle towards the aims that are decided upon, not sporadic occasional interventions)

c) attack (the refusal of compromise, mediation or accommodation that questions the attack on the chosen objective).

As far as aims are concerned, these are

decided upon and realised through attacks upon the repressive, military and productive structures, etc. The importance of permanent conflictuality and attack is fundamental.

These attacks are organised by the nuclei in collaboration with specific anarchist structures which provide practical and theoretical support, developing the search for the means required for the action, pointing out the structures and individuals responsible for repression, and offering a minimum of defence against attempts at political or ideological recuperation by power or against repression pure and simple.

At first sight the relationship between specific anarchist organisation and autonomous base nucleus might seem contradictory. The specific structure follows an insurrectional perspective, while the base nuclei seem to be in quite another dimension, that of intermediate struggle. But this struggle only remains such at the beginning. If the analysis on which the project is based coincides with the interests of the exploited in the situation in which they find themselves, then an insurrectional outcome to the struggle is possible. Of course this outcome is not certain. That cannot be guaranteed by anyone.

This method has been accused of being incomplete and of not taking into account the fact that an attack against one or more structures always ends up increasing repression. Comrades can reflect on these accusations. We think it is never possible to see the outcome of a struggle in advance. Even a limited struggle can have the most unexpected consequences. And in any case, the passage from the various insurrections – limited and circumscribed – to revolution can never be guaranteed in advance by any procedure. We go forward by trial and error, and say to whoever has a better method – carry on.

o.v.

## The Informal Organisation

*The informal anarchist organisation has nothing to do with programmes, platforms, or flags but is based on a common affinity between comrades*

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*whose objective is to intervene in struggles in an insurrectional direction. In that way it is possible to be present in and heighten the class struggle.*

Anarchist groups and individuals are often spread over the territory with little contact between them and few ideas on methods and possibilities of intervention in social reality.

There is a certain presence in some areas, especially of a syndicalist nature. In others there is action against nuclear installations. The widest area of intervention is that of counter-information and propaganda.

An anarchist movement that is really active and incisive needs two main factors: an agile and effective instrument and an objective that is sufficiently clear in perspective.

We think the informal organisation and insurrection are the concrete possibilities that present themselves at the present time.

It has already been said that the organisation of synthesis, based on the congress and political programme, is a structure that because of its internal characteristics and the mechanisms that support it, cannot be a valid instrument for comrades wanting to move in an insurrectional perspective. Political programmes and platforms are organisational models which, from an insurrectional point of view, have seen their day.

One thing that is indispensable in the informal anarchist organisation is reciprocal knowledge between members. This and affinity among comrades is what characterises the informal form of organisation.

We have all reached anarchist positions through time, maturing certain convictions concerning social problems. We also have some idea of how to intervene in social reality and the relative strategic choices to be made. Well, let us go into these problems, ascertain whether we agree on certain points, show each other how we think.

Certainly, it is not easy. It is nevertheless indispensable to confront one another. Without this no kind of informal structure or informal relationship is possible.

The informal proposal does not mean one has to agree on every single problem that arises. Affinity does not possess a uniform

level of intensity. Knowledge of another is an infinite process that reaches greater or lesser depth according to the circumstances and the objectives one is trying to reach.

The basic project of an informal anarchist organisation has, in our opinion, the objective of intervening in struggles in an insurrectional logic. This organisation does not give one area privilege over another, does not have a stable centrality. It singles out an objective which at a given moment presents a particularly acute area of social conflict and works in a perspective of insurrection.

The debate is open on this point. Criticisms that insurrection is not a valid proposal today, sometimes confuse insurrection with the old "propaganda by the deed." On the contrary we think that the insurrectional project gives itself the aim of attacking power in each one of its manifestations by the stimulation of the anarchist informal organisation, but always with mass participation, showing in deed the possibility and validity of such attacks.

In that way it is possible to be present in the class struggle and heighten the level of it.

We see the informal organisation therefore as a number of comrades linked by a common affinity. The wider the range of problems these comrades face as a whole, the greater their affinity will be. It follows that the real organisation, the effective capacity to act together, ie knowing where to find each other, the study and analysis of problems together, and the passing to action, all takes place in relation to the affinity reached and has nothing to do with programmes, platforms, flags or more or less camouflaged parties. The informal anarchist organisation is therefore a specific organisation which gathers around a common affinity.

Undoubtedly it will tend towards a growth in numbers, but this is not the main aim of activity. As the organism born in this way develops it will give itself common means of intervention. First of all an instrument of debate necessary for analytical examination, such as a paper or review, capable of supplying indications on a wide range of problems and of becoming a point of reference for continually verifying affinity or divergence of opinion

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between groups and individual comrades.

Secondly these specific groups can also form base structures involving the exploited in specific areas of struggle, not as an element of growth in the specific movement. In this optic it becomes dispersive to give life to a permanent structure to confront specific problems. The base structures have a single objective. When this objective has been reached, or the attempt fails, the structure either widens into a situation of generalised insurrection, or dismantles as the case may be.

It should be stressed here that although the element holding the informal organisation together is undoubtedly affinity, its propulsive element is always action. If it limits itself to the first alone, all relationships will become arid in the byzantine perfectionism of whoever has nothing better to do than try to hide one's will to do nothing.

The problems that have been touched on here deserve more going into and we invite all comrades to take part in a discussion of them.

g.c.

## Repression against the Anarchist Movement in Greece

The Greek Home Minister has unleashed a vast terroristic operation against the anarchist movement following a series of proletarian attacks in Athens protesting against police brutality.

The Minister has made statements to the effect that clandestine armed groups operating in Greece must be dismantled. This is aimed at creating a climate of social tension to justify the State's repressive projects against the revolutionary movement. To this avail the State has used the bourgeois press to manipulate public opinion, circulating false news criminalising the anarchist movement and, more specifically, the newly-formed Greek Anarchist Union.

This repressive scenario consists in trying to present the Anarchist Union—formed during the first Pan-Hellenic Anarchist

Conference held in Athens in May this year—as a decision-making and operational centre for all the autonomous actions of proletarian attack against repression recently carried out in Greece.

The Greek anarchist movement is mobilising in protest against this repressive manipulation with actions of counterinformation at public level.

But the arrest of two anarchist comrades, Clearchos Shimeos and Christoforos Marinos in a stolen car in Athens, and the killing of comrade Michalis Prekas by the police, have supplied the forces of repression with a further alibi for intensifying their attack against the movement.

Two more comrades, Evangelia Voghiatei and Gerasimos Boukouvalas, have now been arrested, the latter belonging to the Greek Anarchist Union.

The Greek anarchist movement is now organising to defend its arrested militants politically. They are accused of belonging to an armed group, theft and illegal possession of firearms. These accusations are based exclusively on the State's need to justify and further intensify its preceding repressive scenario.

The defence of the comrades now being organised by the Greek anarchist movement is not based on the guilty/innocent logic, but supports the revolutionary integrity and identity of the arrested comrades, independently of the accusations made by the repressive organs of the State.

We ask for the active solidarity of the whole international anarchist movement in our struggle against the State and capitalist domination and exploitation which is striking us particularly at this time.

Some comrades of the Greek Anarchist Union

## The Affinity Group

*Contrary to what is often believed, affinity between comrades does not depend on sympathy or sentiment. To have affinity means to have knowledge of the other, to know how they think on social issues and*

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*how they think they can intervene in the social clash. This deepening of knowledge between comrades is an aspect that is often neglected, impeding effective action.*

One of the most difficult problems anarchists have had to face throughout their history is what form of organisation to adopt in the struggle.

At the two ends of the spectrum we find on the one hand the individualists who refuse any kind of stable relationship; on the other those who support a permanent organisation which acts on a programme established at the moment of its constitution.

Both of the forms sketched out here have characteristics that are criticisable from an insurrectional point of view.

In fact, when individualists single out and strike the class enemy they are sometimes far ahead of the most combative of the class components of the time, and their action is not understood. On the contrary, those who support the need for a permanent organisation often wait until there is already a considerable number of exploited indicating how and when to strike the class enemy. The former carry out actions that turn out to be too far ahead of the level of the struggle, the latter too far behind.

One of the reasons for this deficiency is in our opinion lack of perspective. Clearly no one has a sure recipe that contains no defects: we can however point out the limitations we see in certain kinds of organisation, and indicate possible alternatives.

One of these is known as "affinity groups."

The term requires an explanation. Affinity is often confused with sentiment. Although not distinctly separate, the two terms should not be considered synonymous. There could be comrades with whom we consider we have an affinity, but whom we do not find sympathetic and vice versa.

Basically, to have an affinity with a comrade means to know them, to have deepened one's knowledge of them. As that knowledge grows, the affinity can increase to the point of making an action together possible; but it can also diminish to the point of making it practically impossible.

Knowledge of another is an infinite process

which can stop at any level according to the circumstances and objectives one wants to reach together. One could therefore have an affinity for doing some things and not others. It becomes obvious that when one speaks of knowledge that does not mean it is necessary to discuss one's personal problems, although these can become important when they interfere with the process of deepening knowledge of one another.

In this sense having knowledge of the other does not necessarily mean having an intimate relationship. What it is necessary to know is how the comrade thinks concerning the social problems which the class struggle confronts him with, how he thinks he can intervene, what methods he thinks should be used in given situations, etc.

The first step in the deepening of knowledge between comrades is discussion. It is preferable to have a clarifying premiss, such as something written, so the various problems can be gone into well.

Once the essentials are clarified the affinity group or groups are practically formed. The deepening of knowledge between comrades continues in relation to their action as a group and the latter's encounter with reality as a whole. While this process is taking place their knowledge often widens and strong bonds between comrades often emerge. This however is a consequence of the affinity, not its primary aim.

It often happens that comrades go about things the other way round, beginning some kind of activity and only proceeding to the necessary clarifications later, without ever having assessed the level of affinity required to do anything together. Things are left to chance, as though some kind of clarity were automatically to emerge from the group simply by its formation. Of course this does not happen: the group either stagnates because there is no clear road for it to take, or it follows the tendency of the comrade or comrades who have the clearest ideas as to what they want to do while others allow themselves to be pulled along, often with little enthusiasm or real engagement.

The affinity group on the other hand finds it

has great potential and is immediately addressed towards action, basing itself not on the quantity of its adherents, but on the qualitative strength of a number of individuals working together in a projectuality that they develop together as they go along. From being a specific structure of the anarchist movement and the whole arc of activity that this presents – propaganda, direct action, perhaps producing a paper, working within an informal organisation – it can also look outwards to forming a base nucleus or some other mass structure and thus intervene more effectively in the social clash.

o.v.

**A considerable part of the anarchist movement shares insurrectional positions, but they are theoretical stands only. We think that a new way to consider insurrection is possible.**

## Insurrection

Apart from a few not very significant fringes, the international anarchist movement shares theoretical positions of a revolutionary character. The liberal democratic vein, important as far as it shows a possible line of involution, remains on the margins.

In turn almost the whole of the revolutionary anarchist positions – with different nuances – see insurrection as a necessary phase along the road to revolution.

But this insurrection is seen as a mass revolt due to certain socio-economic forces that serve to set it off. The role of the anarchist movement is to limit itself to understanding these conditions and economic and social contradictions to make them more comprehensible to the mass. Basically, a role of propaganda and counterinformation.

Often even the anarchist comrades who see the need for violent struggle against the structures of oppression without half measures, limit themselves to this part of the analysis and do not feel obliged to go any further. The mass – they say – must do everything themselves. Anything else would be authoritarian on the part of the specific anarchist organisation and

could turn out to be disastrous.

This idea of insurrection might have been logical when nearly the whole of the anarchist movement was on positions of synthesis, ie in the dimension of the big (or not so big) quantitative organisations.

Through the instrument of the syndicalist organisation they planned to address the whole of the social and economic struggles into a situation of waiting for a breaking out of the revolutionary moment.

There is a different way to envisage revolutionary struggle in an insurrectionalist key in our opinion.

We consider that the anarchist organisation, so long as it is informal, can contribute to the constitution of autonomous base nuclei which, as mass organisms, can programme attacks against structures of social, economic and military repression. These attacks, even if circumscribed, have all the methodological characteristics and practises of constant attack, and the refusal to coming insurrectional phenomena when not left to the blind forces of social and economic conflict, but are brought into an anarchist projectuality based on the principles of autonomy, and the promise of direct action.

In a word, this is the insurrectional conception that we are inviting all interested comrades to assess with critiques, analysis, and debate.

a.m.b.

## Internationalism

*the struggle alongside the exploited of the world cannot simply be reduced to collecting signatures or to counter-information it must complete itself with an attack against those responsible – internal and external – for exploitation*

A restricted view of the struggle is doomed to failure. If not in terms of immediate results (improved conditions, growth of revolutionary consciousness, development of the movement, etc) at least in the long term modifying of power relations.

The revolutionary struggle is total. It involves the possibility of life for the exploited in all the

different parts of the world, hence the need for the total intervention of the revolutionary even when operating in a circumscribed and therefore immediate struggle.

But this interest cannot limit itself to simply reading the newspapers and keeping oneself informed on what is happening in the world. It must go a little (or a lot) further than that.

Proletarian internationalism is an active intervention, a participation in the struggles of the exploited that extends everywhere.

But there is a mistaken way of considering this basic revolutionary perspective. It was applied by the authoritarian parts of the movement in the seventies with disastrous results. This mistake has mechanical characteristics and consists of taking what one considers to be the highest point of the clash (ie the situation of peoples in the third world) where social and economic conflicts are more obvious, and carrying them—as a strategic and methodological proposal—to within the situation of the more advanced countries (the so-called metropolitan situations). In the past one heard of bringing Vietnam to Berlin or London or Milan. The mistake was in sanctifying the open armed clash unreservedly and in transferring these aspects to situations which had, and still have very different characteristics.

But in practice it was not a question of real proletarian internationalism. The far-off situation was seen as an occasion for pushing the local situation. The transferal en bloc of the methods and slogans was done with a view to obtaining sympathy and propaganda on the wave of results that the struggle of those far-off peoples were achieving.

We consider that today more than ever real proletarian internationalism can go towards one of two solutions. Firstly, the classical one which is spoken about less and less now and has come to be seen only through the distorting lens of a now out-dated romanticism, is that of direct participation through internationalist groups or brigades. A lot could be said on the subject which we shall put off until some future date where it can be gone into in more detail among comrades.

**Alternatively there is the other aspect, that of**

**real "support" to the internationalist struggle.**

It should be said that this support cannot be reduced to a simple subscription. Even if very useful, it is certainly not the first thing that the exploited engaged in a struggle expect. There is also the so-called "political" support, ie counter-information, demonstrations, picketing of consulates and embassies, letters of protest. All very useful things.

And then there is the attack against those responsible for exploitation. Both internally and externally. Without wanting to give this aspect privilege over all the others, we must say—very clearly that to do only the first means rendering such activity ineffective. It means reducing the manifestation of thought and opinion to a banal exercise of democratic dissent. It means the transformation of financial support into an act of charity which is mainly an alibi for oneself. To do the two things together has a more serious significance and corresponds to what we consider to be true proletarian internationalism.

a.m.b.

## Anti-Nuclear Sabotage in Italy

*a collection of communiques, leaflets, and analyses from the anti-nuclear struggle developing informally in Italy in the logic of direct action against the military and civil structures responsible for the nuclear project.*

On October 10, 1986 anarchist and autonomous demonstrators destroy a large part of the structures (bulldozers, excavators, and drilling machinery on the building site of the nuclear plant under construction at Trino Vercellese.

On December 9 autonomists and anarchists demonstrate against the nuclear power station of Montalto di Castro by blocking entrance to the plant.

In Segrate, Milan, on February 18 the research centre CISE involved in laser research finds its gates chained shut, leaflet found saying: "sabotage the research centres, universities, death production."

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In early December we struck the carabinieri General Casarico by devastating and setting fire to his country home near Palermo.

Casarico, as well as being a general in the Carabinieri (which in itself would be sufficient to justify our attack) is also a nazi. He was in fact regional military commander on whom depended the surveillance of the hospital in Celio, Rome where the unforgettable Kappler was being treated.

Everyone knows about the mysterious escape of the nazi torturer. At the time it emerged clearly that there was connivance between the organisers of the escape and the secret services, and in particular with its main responsible person, no less than General Casarico himself.

By the trickery typical of Power, he was demoted to colonel at the time to placate the wrath of public opinion enraged at the superficiality and incompetence of the surveillance service. Of course the State, which behind the mask of democracy is essentially fascist, had no interest in punishing one of its faithful servants, so about a year later the neocolonel was again promoted to general, to the insult of all sincere antifascists and all the victims of the mass graves.

But the proletariat do not forget and, taking the concepts of militant antifascism in first person and refusing to delegate them to any pseudo-justice of this or any other State, pass to action directly to drive out these rats from the sewers.

Revolutionary Nuclei

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To limit the antinuclear struggle to demanding the closure of the electronuclear plants that are functioning or to preventing those under construction from being built, does not even scratch the surface of the development of atom technology. The antinuclear argument has mainly limited itself to detail up till now. Its main arguments have been superficial, based mainly on underlining the risks of the civil use of the atom from the biological and ecological points of view, or to criticising it from an economic point of view because it is unproductive. A social analysis of the problem

has remained in the shadows or been treated only marginally. This is the aspect on which we mean to centre our attention.

Now that the myth of neutrality of science and scientific research has collapsed one can clearly see the former's relationship with the structures of Power.

...The antagonist movement must take account of this situation in order to develop an opposition to the nuclear project that is autonomous and radical.

It is not enough to denounce the role of the false opposition of the institutional forces, the denunciation should also be extended to the soft opposition that cannot be directly framed within the institutional level (greens, environmentalists, pacifists, antimilitarists, religious protestors, etc) who in their practical proposals for struggle do not question the relationship with domination at all. On the contrary the actions of the former turn out to be functional to reforming the very relationships with domination because they propose a better administrative management through the constitution of new institutions at local level.

In proposing the closure of the nuclear power stations, the fictitious opposition to nuclear power goes towards eliminating the most obvious contradictions through the constitution of alternative energy sources. This critique remains at the level of the single aspect, glosses over the real problem, which remains that of the interests of Power that are at the base of the expansion of the nuclear project... Once freed from the most obvious contradictions of the electronuclear plants, nuclear research could carry on its role peacefully and could also adopt new ones. The industries producing this technology of death could, in absolute silence, continue to produce and export to the developing countries. This project would guarantee the countries exporting nuclear technology total control over the countries acquiring it. In turn the regimes of these countries could have an enforced industrialisation with the installation of centralised and authoritarian systems of development which could not fail to base themselves on a militaristic logic, which would use the nuclear availability as blackmail at an internal level against the population, in view of

possible breaking out of social rebellion.

In turn, within the producing countries, the very existence of atomic technology, under the claim of security, would lead to the need for an army of overseers. This army, once it has become aware of its own importance and role, could use itself as a threat to blackmail the population, who would then find themselves under regimes far more authoritarian than the present.

Biological and ecological destruction appears at this point as an effect and not the real cause. This must be found in the project of control and forced consensus that such technology makes possible. In fact such technology could extend the power of the sacerdotal caste of the scientists who would no longer simply have laboratories as their field of action, but society itself, unsuspecting population included.

For these reasons it is necessary to risk everything today either for man's complete liberation or his total subjection. Any appeal to humanitarianism or pacifism obscures this point of departure.

*ProvocAzione*

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A meeting took place in Rome of all the comrades interested in an antinuclear demonstration to be held concurrently with the National Energy Conference on February 24 to 27 in that city instead of Venice as originally planned.

The proposal expressed in the following circular was the basis for the meeting. It had been read and discussed by comrades in many parts of Italy beforehand: on December 17 in the Faculty of Political Science at Milan University, at a conference in Bologna on January 11, at an antinuclear meeting in Dolo on January 17, for example. The meeting ended in a decision to demonstrate in Rome on February 27.

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From the events at Trino Vercellese to those at Montalto di Castro, all the different forms of opposition that make up the antinuclear front and their different positions have become evident.

We have reached a vital crossroads: on the one side all the reformist political forces who propose and support referenda and put the struggle on an institutional level integrating what was once an autonomous movement into the parliamentary logic (see Communist Party, Proletarian Democracy, Greens, environmentalists, and various pacifists). On the other side are the antagonists in favour of the development and broadening of anti-institutional opposition in the social field, starting from the refusal of the former's proposals and pointing out the need for the antinuclear struggle to remain within a class dimension, outside the institutional framework, autonomous from the parties and based on direct action and total self management (anarchists, libertarians, autonomists, and other nonaligned comrades who agree on these points).

Given the urgent need for social intervention that these questions cause, we feel the time has come for the whole movement to put an end to delay and take a clear public position on this question.

An occasion for this could be a demonstration to be held in Venice on the occasion of the National Energy Conference promoted by the ENEL(3) and the ENEA(4) with the patronage and participation of all the parliamentary forces. We therefore propose a demonstration based on the following aims:

1) To come out and demonstrate outside and against the institutional framework and so break away from the terrorist image presented by the media who say the only possible form of opposition is the institutional one. This is the first step in contributing to dissolving the blackmail hanging over any autonomous social initiative due to the special laws now in force. The aim of this is to make possible the creation of a mass movement of antagonism that is autonomous, anti-institutional and anticapitalist which moves outside the path of fictitious opposition of the reformist parties.

2) To underline the validity of all subversive forms of struggle expressed as direct action by their complete self-management and refusal of the parliamentary logic and delegation. To oppose all referendums proposed by the political

forces, affirming revolutionary abstentionism as the only road for a real development of an antinuclear struggle that expresses itself in direct opposition, not only through blockades at the plants, but extended over the whole social territory for a generalisation of the attack on atomic technology.

Seeing the factories producing such technology, nuclear research centres both nationalised and private, ENEL offices, etc as objectives also to be aimed at.

3) To oppose the nuclear military project, fight to dismantle the missile bases and all the atomic armaments present in the national territory. Taking up a coherent antimilitarism starting from subversive agitation at the social level among those called to do military service. Indicating refusal through mass desertion. Carrying the attack to recruiting drives of both army and police including the private sector. Contesting all military parades and conferences linked to armaments, inviting proletarians to undo control in the barracks through acts of rebellion against military discipline. All this to confirm socially our deep hostility and desire to oppose ourselves to repression and the militarisation of the social territory radically, demonstrating a sense of permanent conflict against all the structures of dominion.

4) Parallel to this, to carry out actions that operate forms of direct pressure on the media in such a way as to prevent any terroristic criminalisation of these subversive expressions of opposition demonstrating against the death project of capital and the State, as it is precisely these practices that prepare the field for State repression.

In our opinion the anarchist movement should begin to express itself concretely. It must make clear its will to qualitatively raise the social clash, with autonomous and anti-institutional struggle against authoritarianism, leveling and massification produced by an artificial opposition expressed by the reformist movements and parties in an attempt to recuperate the antagonists.

For this reason we propose a large NATIONAL ANTINUCLEAR DEMONSTRATION to be held in Venice on January 24 on the last day of the National Energy Conference.

- no to the nuclear industry; militarism and state repression
- no to referendums, delegation and the parliamentary logic
- no to criminalisation and repression of the antagonist movement by parties, unions, media, judiciary, police
- no to social control and militarisation of the social territory
- yes to direct action, self-management, anti-nuclear struggle and its development outside the institutions
- yes to the spreading of the social attack against nuclear energy to all the territorial structures that contribute to its development both publicly and privately.

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January 22 anarchist deserter Orazio Valastro is arrested *during* an antimilitarist demonstration in Catania organised by the local anarchist group. He had recently returned from France where he had been living to avoid arrest, having already done several months in prison and finding himself faced with a prospect of release. This situation could go on till he reaches the age of 45. He had returned from France in the conviction that it was necessary to continue his struggle against the Italian military structure and logic.

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#### AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER!

LET US FAN THE FLAMES OF REVOLT!

All those who support the nuclear plan in Italy, which is sponsored by the ENEL, the ENEA and the government, have made an appointment at the great National Energy Conference in Rome (February 24/27). They are dreaming of the "atomic orgasm." Their apparent enemies, the Greens, environmentalists, the pacifists are playing the card of the referendum, like civil rights conjurors with the aim of drawing us into their miserable parliamentary spectacle. It is very important for them to make the reformist illusion seem like the possibility for transforming this society, and so consign us into the hands of our enemies without any trouble. We will not fall victim to the trap laid

by these false opposers who, because of their own power-wielding interests are aiming at bartering our struggle with the institutions.

#### NO TO THE REFERENDUM

No illusions. Peaceful coexistence in today's society of the spectacle simply means an equilibrium of the terror instated by the State police bodies, along with the parties and the trade unions.

Each day is a war that one fights so as not to succumb, so as not to die right away. It is a struggle for survival at knifepoint which leads the exploited to docilely follow the indications of their butchers, the Power specialists. Instead of lining up against the real enemy, they often walk side by side with them.

We must make our dreams a new reality that rises up against the old one that would nail us to the hearse of power. We shall unmask all those who are against subversion and who want the perpetuation of existing society. Let us put an end to the miserable spectacle produced by capital that reduces life to mere mercantile survival, where every social relationship is reduced to a constant prostitution of oneself. Let us burn every political perspective that prevents the putting into practice of real freedom, generalised self-management applied to every aspect of life. We are for social Insurrection and Anarchy: that is why we are not interested in resolving the problems and contradictions of this system of death. To the mountains of scrap paper produced by those who support and practice parliamentarian referendums, we oppose direct action, the only possibility of really transforming this society because it points out the need for attack against the structures of dominion (including the nuclear ones) and the objectives to aim at. Our allies and accomplices are the antagonists and rebels, because they want to live, not vegetate, rising up and making a mockery of the reformists preaching survival.

We do not want to simply shut down the power stations that are functioning or being built, but aim towards the destruction of all the production of death and the whole atom technology.

Not at saving a part of it as the reformists would like to do, reducing the question to the

closure of a few stations.

The media publicity serves the government so that it can finish building those under construction in the shortest possible time, fix the time for the dismantling of those already functioning (all the fission stations) and finally relaunch the research plan for the exploitation of "fusion" nuclear energy. We denounce the fictitious operation (by the Socialist Party, Proletarian Democracy, the Greens, the environmentalists) who first agreed to participate in the conference, then declined the invitation accusing it of being a "nuclear Trojan horse" and are basing everything on the referendum. So their "nuclear battle" simply consists of requesting the closure of the plants in operation and cessation of work on those under construction. Circumscribing the antinuclear struggle in this way they are doing a great service to the industries producing such technology (eg Ansaldi who produce reactors) and the petrol multinationals (AGIP, ESSO etc) who have invested massive amounts of capital in the development of the nuclear industry and who are not in the least touched by these requests. In fact the profits linked to the construction of the plants in our country are so small compared to their foreign trade. It is up to comrades to unravel this swindle desired not only by the government but by all those who support the referendum. We must look at the reasons behind things and radicalise and extend the struggle which in our opinion must undo the plans of those in favour of nuclear power by working territorially for the dismantling of the industries producing nuclear technology with proletarian direct action. No one can offer us any alternative to struggle outside the institutions which are all, willingly or not, constrained to game-playing.

Even the tranquil citizens who are watching us bemused or annoyed while we demonstrate today find themselves faced with a choice. This could be the beginning of something new, something that does not exist yet because we must build it together.

Or are you also for the end of everything, prepared to succumb to permanent survival?

"Anarchism o" and "ProvocAzione" editorial group

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Palermo Anarchist Group  
Catania Anarchist Group  
Rome Anarchist Group  
Anarchist Committee for Social  
Counterinformation, Milan

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High tension ENEL pylons in Agro di S. Caterina Jonion (Cosenza) were sawed at the base on the night of July 12. After sawing the pylons the unknown nightworkers pulled them down, putting out of action an electrodut line of 150 thousand volts.

The same fate befell another ENEL pylon in the area of Pec del Brasimone, whose closure was one of the objectives of the antagonist movement. The pylon, which feeds the nuclear reactor of Pec, was sabotaged on September 9 by unknown people who left a leaflet on the spot: "No to the nuclear and coal power stations, no to war, no to the energy bosses."

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In the puerile attempt to block the antimilitarist initiatives undertaken in support of the struggle of Orazio Valastro and Giuseppe Coniglio the police have begun to apply a constant logic of intimidation towards the anarchists.

The repeated demonstrations, leafletting, loud-hailing, graffiti, and posters appearing in the city are clearly striking home, and the organs of power and systematic repression have rolled over in the mud they normally lie in.

Blanket control of all present at the public presentation by 30 February Anarchist Circle and Palermo Anarchist Group; posters belonging to the exhibition pulled down; raids on the homes of the most combative comrades the following morning; charges of "instigation to commit a crime" and "slander of the armed forces" comrades called to police headquarters under pretext of finding who was responsible for graffiti, and the sequestration of the photographic exhibition.

The obvious aim is to intimidate and keep quiet the only really antagonistic voice in the city, that of the anarchists. An aim that has

failed miserably given the comrades' coherent and combative response to these mercenaries. The only thing they managed to take home was a bad image.

Palermo Anarchist Group

At the end of July a special convoy carrying a motor destined for the cooling system at the Montalto di Castro nuclear power station was attacked.

The convoy had to stop in a parking space during the night following a block in traffic of heavy lorries and long vehicles.

The engine, valued at over three billion lire was set fire to by persons unknown with petrol which according to police only damaged the electrical system slightly, while more serious damage was done to the special trailer it was being transported on.

Immediately all the various environmentalist associations took a distance from the attack, "an act quite extraneous to the history and methods of the Italian antinuclear movement.

The same applies to the Greens, who stated, "the nuclear project can only be stopped by rigorously nonviolent actions and a wide possibility for debate and discussion."

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At the end of July Orazio Valastro was released from Palermo military prison. The demonstrations held in his favour and the struggles carried out by Orazio personally in prison, finally obliged the Italian army to step back, cancelling the threat hanging over him of repeated imprisonment till the age of 45.

Not being able to save face any other way, the warlords responsible for so-called military justice had recourse to the formula of reforming Orazio, declaring him "sociopathic" therefore ill adapted for military service. This decision was made by the army alone. Orazio, in line with his uncompromising stand against the army refused to sign anything to this effect. All the same if "sociopathic" means to be against the army and capitalist society with all their logic of exploitation and death, then here's hoping that deserters, anarchists, and "sociopaths" will

multiply.

Giuseppe Coniglio is arrested on August 25 and taken to Palermo military prison. Between the time of publicly refusing the army and his arrest he had participated in many debates, punk concerts and exhibitions, etc, making his choice and his reasons known all over the country.

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On February 24, the opening day of the National Energy Conference, a demonstration of secondary school pupils took place in Turin. Although the demo had been organised by the official left youth parties, the day was spoiled for them when part of the students, along with anarchists and autonomists, broke into the Chamber of Commerce which was on the route and interrupted a meeting of the representatives of the environmentalist movement. Speakers were insulted, and paint bombs thrown against the official speakers.

February 27, the last day of the National Energy Conference, was one rich in antinuclear activity. Among other things the "national antinuclear coordination" organised a blockade, a march and a meeting with the workers and local population at Montalto di Castro. In Rome the demonstration organised by a part of the anarchist movement took place, marked by a clear choice and determination to radicalise the antinuclear struggle and move towards a qualitative development of objectives spread over the whole social territory.

In Rome "Friends of the Earth" shocked some incredulous comrades by participating in a demonstration organised by the fascist ecology group "Fare Verde" (do green).

March 13 Giuseppe Coniglio tears up his call up card, explaining his antimilitarist convictions which led him to totally object to doing national service. This took place during a public meeting of the Orazio Valastro Committee at the social science faculty at Catania University.

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#### Leaflet given out on an antimilitarist demo

#### in Catania on April 4 1987

In recent times Sicily has become more and more militarised. (Comiso; firing range in the Nebrodi mountains, proposed depot for radioactive waste in Pasquasia, etc) and increasingly drawn into international tension in the Mediterranean (American aggression in Libya, Italian intervention in the Lebanon).

But military is also nuclear. In fact civil nuclear production does not exist because because all the research in this field is carried out within the military structures then passed into the civil field. Moreover, a large part of the radioactive waste from the nuclear power stations is used for the building of atomic weapons.

The antinuclear struggle therefore also passes into the struggle against the military and therefore to the refusal of national service.

The oppressive and dehumanising institution of the army is moreover one of the reasons that is pushing many young men to commit suicide in the barracks because they cannot find any meaning in that year of enforced detention.

But thousands of other youths are rebelling every day choosing different forms of struggle (from conscientious objection to total objection, to desertion). Among these the anarchist Orazio Valastro who has deserted the army and was already sentenced to five months imprisonment in 1982 and to 8 months in February 1987. He risks spending most of the rest of his life till the age of 45 in prison.

Let us rebel against the logic of the State that wants young people to commit suicide in the barracks and put in prison all those who rebel against this logic.

Against the militarisation and nuclearisation of the social territory.

For the liberation of Orazio Valastro and all the other antimilitarists in prison.

Catania Antimilitarist Committee

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We have destroyed the high tension line carrying (wasted) electric energy to the mastodonic mine of Pasquasia, since its origin place of assassination of proletarians (so-called

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accidents at work) and temple of the historic boss-capitalist mafia exploitation. It is quite logical that it should now become a place of total extermination, transformed into a homicidal dustbin for radioactive waste. Here is progress for Sicily!

They empty the land of its sons, its identity, then fill it with death and destruction. See our own and the American military bases, nuclear and coal power stations and other highly noxious establishments. We are no longer prepared to be conned! Parties, institutions, religious sects, 'men of culture' and environmentalists have the duty-role of stemming and dissipating the just rage/fear, the capacity for self-determining the safeguarding of our life, our present and our future. In good or bad faith they are an important part of the gigantic repressive counter-revolutionary machine.

This machine that must prevent escapes from this generalised prison that tie cooked and precooked and coerced schemes of legality and constitutionality represent for the survival of capitalism and the State. They have always been, and if possible are now even more, criminal, warmongering and genocidal assassins.

The final course in this mad race towards perpetual enrichment and global domination, shamelessly passed off as progress, civil society, etc, is the total destruction of our planet which is now taking place. To speak, write, dance, sing, march is not enough to stop this madness and free ourselves from its ferocious oppression. Pacifism is nothing but a jailer (even if among the more intelligent) of men, women and children for the slaughter! We maintain: we can and we must take our fate into our own hands and organise ourselves.

Sabotage. Attack. Insurge.  
Combatant union against nuclear power

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Two years on from the Chernobyl tragedy all the power games on the atom front in Italy are over. Following last year's referendum consultations where the majority of the population expressed themselves as being against nuclear energy, the spectacle is over.

The parliamentophile toxic cloud formed within the antinuclear movement seems to have dissipated, its main protagonists finally throwing away the mask of false opposition, declaring themselves satisfied with the decisions just made by the new De Mita government. The latter as a first act has decided not to continue completion of the work on the electronuclear power station at Montalto di Castro(VT), in spite of the "go ahead" given by the TAR of Lazio with the sentence of April 13 1988, and industry Minister Battaglia has communicated such a decision to the ENEL in a letter saying: "The line on which the government is constituted is that of the non completion of the nuclear centres".

It is in actual fact a peremptory invitation to the ENEL to wait until the Cabinet expresses itself concerning the project of the polyvalent reconversion of the plants (to gas or methane); and, more generally, they have to wait for the directive line on which the new National Energy Plan will be traced, which will probably be presented in May. This invitation by the government has been accompanied by ample guarantees to the ENEL on financially covering the costs that the company will have to meet because of this interruption; this reassurance has led the ENEL to repay the contracted firms payment of 90 per cent of the sum due. The reason for this was to undo the threat of the workers working on the plant of carrying out more blockades and demonstrations such as happened in March to defend their wages.

For Montalto di Castro over 4,000 billion lire have already been spent and will never be recuperated. Moreover; as far as the other two electronuclear plants that are functioning are concerned, the one in Trino 1 (VC) and that in Caorso (PC), they have now been closed for several months, while work on the Trino 2 has been interrupted. All together the energy of Montalto, Trino and Caorso was to produce about 3000 megawatts, a ridiculous sum in the face of national energy needs.

The Communist Party are now speaking of "out of nuclear energy" in its project of maintaining "only a technological presidium."

With its far-seeing decision, the government, as well as being freed from the fictitious

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opposition to the nuclear programme (Greens, Proletarian Democracy, Communist Party of Italy, Socialist Party, and various other environmentalist associations), has taken away any reason for struggle from those who follow the great symbolic objectives. Over the past twelve years they have participated in blockades, demonstrations, decisions and counter-decisions, recourse and appeals, also at institutional level.

That such centralised objectives are no more than an empty wrapping is a fact that can no longer be in any doubt today as the great technological transformations operated by capital have led to decentralising and pulverisation of its industrial project over the whole territory, and the consequent abandoning of the "great cathedrals" (read graveyard factories). Any kind of struggle—moreover in defence of an arrangement that is gradually disappearing—based on huge central objectives, has dragged along the old proletarian composition of these large production areas, breaking them up over the territory.

In fact the symbolic objectives of that struggle do not seem to have altered capital's projects of restructuring and

State control; in fact, though not deliberately, they have ended up favouring it, making the proletarian movement retreat to a defensive position that saw it losing on all fronts concerning the social and economic conditions acquired, with the loss of large slices of guaranteed income by large social groupings due to the sackings. The quality of life has also suddenly been reduced.

Now that it seems the nuclear power stations have formally been put down by the Government, how can these antagonists react, those who on this level have fought generously, defying police baton charges and worse—the incomprehension of the workers who are more intent on saving their own miserable salaries than on putting an end to the death productions?

The production of death has not been interrupted by the closure of the plants.

Now what faces all of us is the serious problem of how to attack and destroy the

development of atom technology, which is not only interested in keeping a few nuclear power stations functioning. The closure of these has on the contrary served to liberate them of the weight of heavy contestation. There is an inseparable link between the civil and military nuclear industry, the militarisation of the social territory, the nuclear research centres all over the country (civil and military) and industries producing such technology which have contacts with all the new technology present in our country: electronics, micro-electric, information technology, etc. If there is no light thrown on the complexive technological development of capital and the State, where each application of a new technology is strictly linked with other interdependent ones, one ends up fighting only one tentacle, allowing the system to go ahead in an unabated development and domination over society: the tentacle simply reforms elsewhere, condemning us to a sterile and just as unproductive toil of Sisyphus.

We should be looking for example with a great deal of attention at what is happening in the military field in our country. Very probably the same phenomenon as is happening today in the field of arms production will take place; that is, we could become among the largest exporters of such technology, clandestinely and also officially, precisely in virtue of the European Unity of 1992 where frontiers will be abolished, and the multinational dimension of our industries will allow for this kind of game.

One thinks, among other things, of what the *Financial Times* of last November says where one learns of a report of the American government which was to remain secret (but was instead distributed to thousands of representatives of computer-producing companies) which allied countries are able to produce nuclear arms at the present time. Many of these plants already exist in the countries and are deliberately kept hidden. But, according to this "secret" American military report, countries figure in the list that are officially "nuclear-free". The list includes Australia with 5 plants, Belgium with 12, Canada with 13, Denmark with 1, Germany with 37, France with 29, Greece with 2, Italy with 27, Japan with 31, Holland with 9, Norway with 3, Portugal with 2, Great Britain with 25. As we

can see Italy, with no functioning nuclear power stations, finds itself in fourth place.

To struggle against this proliferation of technologies, not only against the nuclear one—if it is true as we have said that in Italy we shall soon assist in an uncontrolled spreading of the same nuclear technology under other names—means to oppose oneself concretely to development on a planetary scale of the projects of domination and ecological devastation of the planet.

ProvocAzione

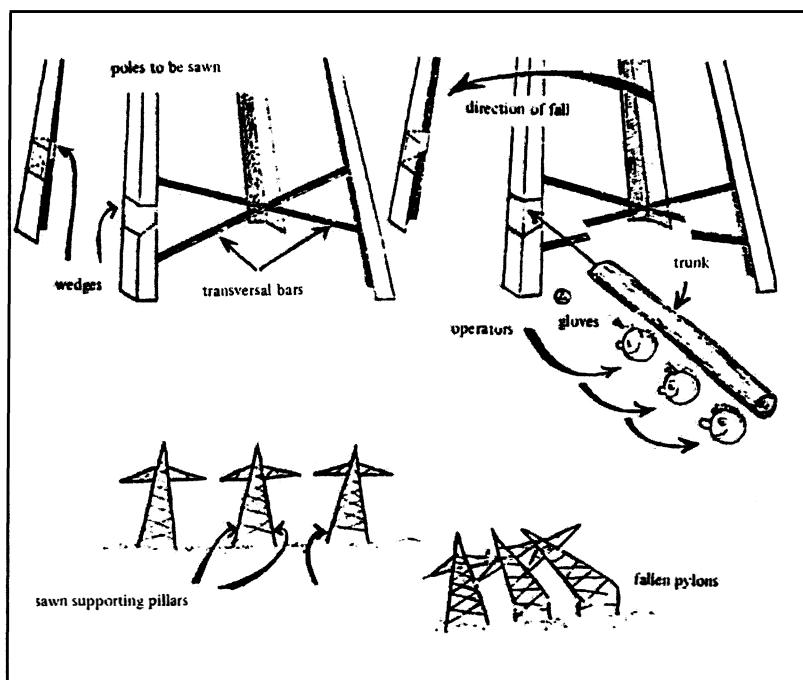
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As cadres of “popular professionalism” we reply to your question on how to saw down the pylons of the atom mafia.

The best way is the following: You need 6 hacksaws. Advantage: easier to carry, make less noise, far less expensive. Disadvantages: sawing takes a long time.

Moreover you need: 6 100 ml bottles of oil, 15 spare reinforced blades, 2 pocket torches with side light screened, something to mark parts to be sown, a handkerchief (on which to change the blades), a tree trunk about 2 metres long by 15 cm in diameter, heavy winter socks to wear over shoes, gloves.

The best recipe is:



- 1) Mark all the parts to be sawed, saw all the inferior transversal bars joining the four pillars (at the same level as central pillars are to be cut).
- 2) Saw a wedge in the two pillars in the direction of the fall (the pillars chosen must be parallel to the electricity cables). For the wedge, first saw diagonally towards the direction of the fall (about 30 degrees) towards the bottom. From a 90 degree angle continue to saw horizontally. Complete the cut, then saw the two pillars horizontally about 15 cm above the oblique cut. Use the saw in two each using both hands (it should only be drawn: it's less tiring and makes less noise).

- 3) When the pillars have been sown, put all the tools that have been used together and go to about 150 yards away along the line of escape. Two or three people stay by the pylon. With the help of the tree trunk push the wedges out of the pillars. Nothing happens after the first wedge. When the second wedge falls it is time to leave in the opposite direction to that of the fall (taking small steps, one foot always in contact with the earth).

The pylon falls in the direction in which the pillars have been sown.

- 4) The time of the fall is a minimum of two seconds. The cables are pulled to the ground by the pylons. Stay bent and very stable. When the cable makes contact with the ground a short circuit is formed.

The action is not advised in the rain as the presence of water makes it dangerous. Calculate enough time, it is not a five minute action. We consider the only dangerous phase to be that of sawing the pillars.

*Revolutionary Operators leaflet  
reproduced  
in Anarchismo #55 December 1986*

## Illegality

Simply spreading facts that have been distorted or concealed by the institutional information system constitutes an “illegal” action. Not

against one precise law (except in the case of the so-called State secret), but something that goes against the management of social control that is the base of the very possibility of respect for State laws.

A wide area of behaviour exists therefore that attracts the attention of the State's repressive organs just as much if not more than that which clearly breaks a specific law.

It can be extremely damaging to the project of State control for certain news to be in circulation at a given moment, at least as damaging as actions falling into the "illegal" category. This shows that the line between formal legality and that of real legality fluctuates according to the repressive projects being put into action.

It varies according to the relationship between State and capital at a given time, and this is established less through recourse to precise laws than through a myriad of controls and dissuasions that only evolve into actual repressive actions in specific cases.

#### *Relation between politics and illegality*

Basically all political critique remains within the field of illegality. In fact it bolsters the social fabric and allows it to overcome certain defects and deficiencies caused by capital's contradictions and some excessively rigid aspects of the State.

But no political critique can reach the total negation of State and capital. If it did it would become a social critique—as in the case of anarchist critiques—and would cease to be a constructive contribution to the institutional fabric, and so becomes illegal.

Periods of institutional and social equilibrium can exist that allow the existence of a social critique of a radically anarchist nature, but that does not alter the substantially illegal character of this critique.

On the other hand, even behaviour that comes heavily under the jurisdiction of the penal code can be considered differently in the light of a relationship of a political kind. For example, the armed struggle of a combatant party is undoubtedly an illegal action in the formal sense of the word, but at a given moment it can become functional to the State and capital's projects of recuperation and

restructuring. Here it ensues that a possible agreement between combatant party and State is not impossible.

This is not as absurd as it seems. The combatant party puts itself within the logic of destabilising the existing ruling power for the construction of a future power that is different in form but identical in substance.

In this project, as soon as it is realised that there is no outlet for a military confrontation they make a deal. The amnesty that is being talked about so much in Italy today with the Red Brigades is one such deal.

As we can see, while simple anarchist critique—radical and total in content—always remains illegal, even the armed struggle of the combatant parties can at a given moment enter the domain of legality. That clearly demonstrates the fluctuating nature of legality and the State's capacity to adapt this to levels of social control.

#### *The exercise of control*

The instruments of repression only use brute force minimally. They function to a far greater extent as instruments of social control preventively.

This is applied through a series of provisions for all the forms of potential illegality and deviant behaviour. Potential illegality comes within the law today, but the farseeing eye of the censor looks ahead to foresee their possible outcome. In the same way social deviance today might be a possible object of study or surprise, tomorrow it could become a concrete manifestation of social subversion.

a.m.b.

## National Liberation Struggle

*We must get out of the contradictions and ambiguities that anarchists find themselves in when considering the problem of the national liberation struggle. A proposal for an international anarchist confederation for national liberation.*

One of the most disputed principles of the anarchist struggle is that of seeing the possibility for developing a revolutionary dimension within the national one.

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This problem gives rise to much fear and incomprehension.

It is said that anarchism, being internationalist, should not concern itself with events related to situations within single nations. The clash between classes puts all proletarians on the same level against the exploiters, so one part cannot be extracted from the social war and restricted to within a single territory or nation.

Other dangers are listed with reference to specific historical situations: dangers of involution, of transforming the national liberation struggle into a florid new nationalism or of giving the local bourgeoisie preference over the foreign one. And many other arguments which to tell the truth are not always serene or well thought out.

Many comrades have not thought sufficiently about this thorny problem. They express judgements based on preconceived ideas, not on an evaluation of the limits or possibilities of a struggle for national liberation carried out by anarchists and laid out on anarchist principles.

As the idea of revolution breaking out all over the planet at the same time is unthinkable, it should not be impossible to envisage a breakout of revolutionary events in one specific place at a time. Now if this is reasonable enough one must admit then that a correct anarchist analysis applied to the main areas of tension would lead to the possibility of intervening in an organised and strategically clear way.

Certain situations exist in the world today that present contradictions of a predominantly national kind. Why is it that anarchists must stay outside them? Perhaps because recent experience has shown that these situations often have reactionary outcomes? Or because nearly all of them are dominated by marxist positions? These are not good enough reasons. One could reply to the first that there is no such situation as one that can guarantee a revolutionary or progressive outcome in advance, but rather that such an outcome would be more probable in the presence of anarchists and their struggle. To the second one could say that the relationship between marxism and the national liberation struggle is purely instrumental. That is, the people in struggle have adopted—especially

in Africa and South America—certain marxist elements as they have nothing else at their disposition. And is this not perhaps the fault of the anarchists?

**We are therefore for intervention in the various national liberation struggles.** Not just a general one of solidarity or, worse still, that of systematically drawing political distinctions. We are for an active intervention.

By active intervention we mean not only "real" international solidarity consisting of attacking the common enemy; but also an intervention based on analysis and organisational proposals.

One of the proposals that seems right at the present time and which could become a point of reference in the future, is that of forming an International Confederation for National Liberation, accepting the distinguishing factor of the insurrectional method and the refusal of interclassism.

## The Nuclear Mafia

Much is being said in the Press about bribery and corruption within the Mol nuclear processing plant in Belgium where 321 barrels of plutonium bearing waste material was illegally shipped to plants in West Germany by the German transport firm Transnuklear. The extracted plutonium is then secretly shipped to Pakistan for nuclear arms production.

Meanwhile, the great legal international nuclear mafia continues its world-wide trafficking undisturbed. British Nuclear Fuels regularly imports huge amounts of uranium from South Africa unhindered by such legal niceties as EEC or Commonwealth trade restrictions. Last year of the 1,000 tonnes of unprocessed uranium imported from South Africa, 20 tonnes came to Britain. Processed—probably at Springfields, Preston—it was then exported to overseas customers.

In fact, the whole nuclear industry, using the "terrorist threat" as justification for secrecy and policing by special forces, is based on lies, cover-ups, falsifying reports, secret deals, threats, blackmail, murder, genocide.

Protection money, not extracted at the barrel of a gun, but through the legal taxation system under threat of imprisonment, is paid by the mass of exploited to subsidise the production of a whole arsenal of (secret) weaponry and reactors many of which are now dangerously redundant but kept functioning. For example the ones at Chapel Cross, Dumfrieshire and Calder Hall, Sellafield are now 12 years over their 20 year Safety Limit. They supply plutonium for the Trident and nuclear weapons programme, so attempts to have them shut down because of their incapacity to withstand even a minor earth tremor, have been waived.

Little distinction can be made in fact between "military" and "civil" nuclear plants as the latter's waste products produce material for nuclear bombs. For example "spent fuel"—still radioactive—from Dungeness on the Kent coast is transported by train through South London regularly in 44 tonne flasks holding more radioactivity than the Hiroshima bomb, to Sellafield where plutonium is extracted from it to make nuclear weapons. However, the so-called civil area of nuclear power production is about to undergo partial privatisation. And the 12 area electricity boards to be privatised are each to be "obliged" (in true mafia style) to ensure that 20% of their power is not of fossil origin, ie will be mainly nuclear.

The high costs of maintaining even official safety standards is so high that it is to be expected that even more cover-ups will take place in the future. It was engineers employed at Trawsfyndd power station in Snowdonia who informed the public of their fears concerning secret cooling tests that were being planned and the danger they would have put the local population in. People in the area were ready to evacuate their children before the tests were finally abandoned due to local and international pressure.

Apart from the megaplants that are an ever increasing threat to surrounding populations (and beyond, as Chernobyl has shown), there are 1,000 authorised nuclear dumping sites in Britain, and 6,000 sites where it is legally permitted to handle and store radioactive waste. These sites are all protected by the secrecy of the Radioactive Substances Act 1960, where

any disclosure of information is punishable by imprisonment.

British Telecom are storing radioactive tritium gas (from the dials of some of the 2 million luminous telephone dials they are dismantling) in leaky containers in a disused car park in Islwyn, Wales. They plan to store between 200,000 and 400,000 curies of tritium gas at the site in Cwmcarn. This substance is easily absorbed into the human body. One curie is sufficient to kill.

Cancer clusters, child leukemia, the near accidents, accidents, and potential accidents are ignored by these mafiosi whose only aim is profit and an ever-increasing control of the population. The gang is a tight collaboration with Capital, both public and private, and the State, in the form of judiciary, police, secret services, government, army, etc. These are all structures that are quite identifiable and composed of individuals each one of whom is responsible in one way or another for this project of death.

The struggle against the nuclear project must therefore widen into a global attack against all these structures of dominion by developing the practice of direct action and constant conflictuality in a logic that goes towards mass rebellion. Anything less merely serves to give credibility to the assassins.

j.w.

## The Struggle in Palestine

The cultural stereotype presented by the media in past years of the "Palestinian-Arab terrorist" has miserably crumbled over the past months. The true and only terrorists, even to the most politically naive eyes, are the officers of the Israeli army who are ordering their soldiers to turn their guns on young people whose only arms are sticks and stones.

It is striking to see the victims of so many massacres carried out in their time by the Nazis, in the reversed role of persecutors and racist exterminators of another people.

Certainly this is not something recent, but it seems that the world has only become aware of it now.

Now we have before our eyes the vision of a Hebrew colony which, coming from the United States or elsewhere, has invaded the land of the Palestinian poor, using the organised force of their army, one of the most equipped and militarily prepared in the world, to chase them out of their homes. The numerous acts of violence addressed against this people—ignorant of history and divine interventions—by the Israelis brandishing a gun in one hand and a bible in the other, are to inform the former that this is land promised by God and anyone who is not prepared to leave it voluntarily can in his name be chased off with iron and fire.

In this way the Palestinians, victims of such Zionist logic, have for their invaders done the wrong of living for over two thousand years in that territory. The powers who came through the Second World War as victors constituted the Israeli State which, by a macabre irony the Hebrews owe to their holocaust in the Nazi concentration camps, and its existence today is made possible by the camps built to keep the Palestinians in.

Instead of fighting to affirm the freedom, social equality and sense of justice among men, Jewish communities in other countries (apart from the dissent of a few notable individuals who have denounced the atrocities taking place) have chosen to support this racist society purely because it belongs to their own ethnic strain. This strikes a chord with the Hitlerian racism against the ethnic minorities in order to save and purify the Aryan race. Such is happening in Palestine today.

The young people rebelling in the camps of Gaza and Cisjordania today were all born under Israeli occupation. Their oppressors and torturers illuded themselves that after having chased the PLO militants away it had vanquished internal resistance. Twenty one years of military occupation and colonisation of these territories should have erased any trace whatsoever of the old economic and social conformation of the area; and the Israelis were counting on the fact that the new generation of Palestinians born under their State domination would not have the same motives as their fathers to rebel.

It was not like that. In past months all

illusions of social pacification have died for the Israeli State, and the Zionist dream of socio-political integration of the occupied territories is disappearing. On the other hand the weight of the PLO inside the Palestinian camps is no longer what it was. Now most of its militants have been living in exile in nations far away from the area. The revolt of the young was born spontaneously, not organised by political organisations, so the PLO is doing everything it can these days to recuperate it.

The young Palestinians no longer believe in the politics of diplomacy acted out by Arafat, nor do they believe that it is enough to carry out some armed action against the Israeli State outside the occupied territories. They mean—as they are demonstrating—to radicalise the violent social clash precisely in the territories in which they are living. In this sense they are showing a social insurrectionalist practice that is far more dangerous for the stability of the Israeli State than the strikes which, although they cause economic damage, do not worry it in the same way. Threatening the Palestinian workers with hunger or mass sackings has been a tactic that has always worked up till now.

All the same, although the PLO has been greatly weakened, the same cannot be said for the Islamic religion which seems to be strengthening itself behind the scenes of the conflict.

The main internal danger for the young Palestinians is precisely that of the taking root of Islamic integralism within their ranks, shown by the fact that the religious caste has, for its own ends of power, unconditionally supported the revolt. The Palestinian worthies are not coming out into the streets but they are there, waiting like vultures to take the place of the Israelis.

A dark shadow falls over the liberation struggle that is taking place today by the Palestinian people in revolt. It is the will to form a new State either secular or religious depending on the forces that prevail.

What is to be hoped therefore is that the armed clash in this insurrectionalist movement should deepen in such a way that the question does not simply concern itself with the institution of a new State but of going

beyond such a miserable political horizon and with it the reproduction of capitalist modes of production.

The young Palestinians, acting directly without leaders, self-managing their struggle, could in fact take this road, utopian as it might seem, having already put the old PLO leader Arafat in crisis, (To a journalist interviewing him, asking who was their "leader," a Palestinian boy replied, "Whoever has a stone in his hand").

But now they must also put the Ayatollah of fundamentalist Islam in crisis to widen their horizons of real liberation.

p.p.

*Leaflet given during a blockade of the "Cariplo" agency in Milan on January 29  
in solidarity with the Palestinians in struggle.*

Who says you can die for a State at the age of twelve?

Who believes that behind the stones thrown and the bottles launched against the Israeli soldiers there is the desire to see oneself represented in a Parliament of Palestinian politicians?

Who has an interest in making us believe that the objective of this insurrection is that of substituting the bible-thumping baton wielders with those with the Koran: the double-breasted bosses with those in kaftans?

What is the real reason for the goading reports that the radio, TV and newspapers are reserving for the events taking place in the Gaza 'strip'?

The same attention reserved to the Iran-Iraq war when the dead were hundreds each day. Or when the Italian fleet was heading in that direction? A true bombardment of news all filtered however through "common sense." The journalists are always ready to condemn excess on one side or the other.

Always ready to exalt any diplomatic solution that puts things in a democratic framework. Always ready to erase, deny, any hypothesis that goes against the present state of affairs.

In South Africa the strikes in the mines or the revolts in the ghettos, in their reporting is

always inspired by unions or because of the colour of their skins. We never got news from Iran and Iraq of all the proletarians on each side who were hanged because they refused to fight in a war they did not feel a part of.

The solution of the "Palestinian problem" is to be found in the recognition of the inalienable right to a State led (naturally) by the PLO.

No,

No, we don't agree, we don't believe anything any more!

Whoever comes out into the streets in the occupied territories of Israel as in South Africa, does it to rebel against the material conditions that capital imposes on their lives.

Conditions that in order to be reproduced require social peace, the elimination of any conflictuality that is not symbolic.

But we are not interested in symbols.

We know perfectly well that the system of capital is our enemy and survives thanks to men who are quite identifiable, and to precise structures such as the banks.

These are the final links of a chain that supports the continuation of oppression and exploitation. It does so with precise instruments (such as the International Monetary Fund) that organise exchange of goods and the subsequent starving of entire peoples.

Only if it is carried to within the class struggle will the struggle of the Palestinians be our struggle.

Leoncavallo Social Centre, Milan

## Breaking Out of the Ghetto

*The struggles taking place in the inner city ghettos are often misunderstood as mindless violence. The young struggling against exclusion and boredom are advanced elements of the class clash. The ghetto walls must be broken down, not enclosed.*

The young Palestinians throwing stones at the Israeli army rightly have the sympathy and solidarity of comrades who see them in their just struggle for freedom from their colonial oppressors. When we see even the very young of Belfast throwing stones at British soldiers we have no doubt about their rebellion against the

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occupying army whose tanks and barbed wire enclose their ghettos.

There is an area of young people today however who find themselves in just as hard a battle against their oppressors who find themselves constantly emarginated and criminalised. These young people do not find themselves fighting a liberation struggle against an external invader, but are immersed in an internal class struggle that is so mystified that its horizons are unclear even to themselves. This war is taking place within what have come to be known as the "inner cities" of Britain, areas that are now recognised by the class enemy—the capitalists, with the monarchy leading, and the State in all its forms—as the most fragile part of the class society, one that could open up the most gigantic crack and give way to unprecedented violence.

The young struggling for survival from exclusion and boredom in the deadly atmosphere of the ghettos of the eighties are in fact among the most advanced elements in the struggle in Britain. As such they find themselves surrounded by a sea of hostility and incomprehension, even by those who in terms of their official class positions should be their comrades in struggle. No trade union or left wing party has anything to say about their struggle. They are among the first to criminalise it and relegate its protagonists to the realm of social deviance, perhaps with the distinguishing variable that instead of the 'short sharp shock treatment' they prefer to employ an army of soft cops and social psychiatrists.

The anarchist movement itself, antiauthoritarian by definition and revolutionary in perspective, has so far produced nothing tangible as a project of struggle which encompasses the "real" anarchists, the visceral antiauthoritarians. The forms the violence from the ghettos takes does not have the content of moral social activity that anarchists want to find. This cannot emerge spontaneously from situations of brute exploitation such as exist in the urban enclosures. Suggestions such as those of taking this morality into the ghettos which are then to be defended and "self-managed" in our opinion are quite out of place. They ring of the old "Takeover the City" slogans of

Lotta Continua years ago, now just as dead as that organisation itself. The problem is not self-managing the ghettos, but breaking them down. This can only come about through clear indications of a class nature, indicating objectives in that dimension and acting to extend the class attack.

The article by the Plymouth comrades gives an indication of what is happening in most major-and many smaller cities in Britain today. These events do not reach the headlines. In fact most of what happens is not reported at all.

Clearly the conditions of the clash are very different to those where the presence of a tangible "outside enemy" has clarified the position of the whole of the exploited against the common enemy. There is no doubt in Sharpeville or Palestine or Belfast about what happens to those who collaborate with the police. In this country on the contrary, the fact that the latter have made inroads into gaining the active collaboration of people within the ghettos themselves shows the barriers of fear and incomprehension that exist and divide the exploited in one area.

Levels of cultural and social mystification have succeeded to some extent in confusing class divisions. By defining the violence of the young in pathological or ethnic terms the latter find themselves isolated and ostracised even by those who are nearest to them in terms of exploitation.

The dividing line is a fine one, however, and it can take only a mass confrontation with the 'forces of order' to demonstrate to all where the real enemy lies. This happened in the Brixton riots for example where parents, seeing the police brutality at close hand, immediately moved from a tacit consensus to open antagonism towards them.

Maintaining consensus from people who have very little to gain from the "social order" involves a complex network of media, social workers, school teachers, community leaders, community police, etc, all of whom are recognised as being in positions of authority. That authority is tolerated unwillingly today. It could break down completely tomorrow.

Our work must therefore be in the direction of continually clarifying and extending the class

attack by identifying and striking objectives that are easily attainable and comprehensible in the perspective of breaking down the walls of the ghettos and opening up a perspective of mass action against the common enemy.

j.w.

## Prison

As anarchists we are against all prisons. Mass breakouts, individual escapes, attacks on prisons under construction, counter-information are some of the struggles that come from this area of ultimate restraint by capital and the State.

However, with the restructuring of capital we can also see the beginnings of what will be a vast restructuring of prison as it manifests itself today. The prison of the future will extend over the whole territory. Old ideas of social correction when it was believed that detention would alter behaviour, will come to be substituted by the ideology of control and consensus. The enclosed space gives little guarantee of control. Apart from increasing social tension the traditional type of prison is becoming more and more contradictory and expensive. Easier to build a wall around the dominant class. Not a brick wall but a wall of "diversity:" diversity of language, values, perspective, culture, etc.

It won't be easy to scale this wall. As for the irreducibles, those who continue to show signs of danger for the State's plans of control, there will always be the traditional prisons, increasingly isolated, increasingly *super*, and increasingly *special*.

Physical annihilation will take the place of social orthopaedics in those cases. Prison will return to its old role of being a rational system for securing the death of the prisoner in the shortest possible time. The illusions of the Enlightenment will disappear for ever.

But apart from this minority of irreducibles, what interests Power is the control of the great mass of exploited. And this control will necessarily come about in a "consensual" way, not in an "obligatory" or "violently" contradictory way.

The first objective to be reached therefore

will be that of "participation." The greatest number of people will be enclosed in a project of "recuperation" at all levels. They will have the illusion that they are "participating" in the management of public affairs: in the programming of their own lives.

Social structures will all be based on participation while at the same time a small part of them will be kept secret and function with anything but participatory aims.

Production will undoubtedly be made easier, with lighter shifts, but a net separation will come about between the "included" who give orders and the "excluded" who will have to carry them out.

Education will come about through mass schooling which will perfect the mechanism of "exclusion," supplying a reduced language and a constructed culture deliberately for the "excluded," but at the same time there will be places for the privileged where instruction will be supplied at very high levels precisely to make the continuation of the division into classes possible.

From the urbanistic point of view the life of the city will also be restructured by breaking up the ghetto areas and replacing them with dormitory suburbs, "social dispersion" where people manage their own alienation. The classes of privileged will be elsewhere, closed in their "incomprehensibility" as far as the excluded are concerned.

In a society that is so deeply controlled, where the fundamental division into classes (between included and excluded) is camouflaged by a "participation" at all levels (parliamentary, trade union, education, work, health, administration), it will no longer be possible to speak of repression in traditional terms.

## Murder by Media

On March 20, 30 year old James Connelly was found dying in a pool of blood in Walworth, South London. A labourer, he had been in England for just four weeks, his home being in Galway, Eire. He had gone out to buy cigarettes

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and was stabbed and beaten to death, probably because of his strong Irish accent.

This comes as a direct result of the crescendo of anti-Irish hysteria reached by the Press following the spontaneous crowd reaction against the sudden eruption of two British soldiers at an IRA militant's funeral in Belfast driving at speed into the crowd, armed, in plain clothes—in the context of the massacre that had taken place two days before.

He is not the only the victim of media-incited hatred of the Irish people.

A 52-year old Irish woman was stabbed to death outside a Birmingham pub at the same time, following a row about the same event. In their delay in handing over the video film of the event, the local BBC boss tried to maintain a position of the media's independence from the State. In fact he was only trying to save his own skin. There are constant media attacks on the exploited of Ireland through stereotyping, Irish jokes, political fiction (eg TV plays depicting English housewives being blown up by explosives planted in milk bottles by the IRA), misreporting, mystification, all with the underlying theme that being Irish is equivalent to being a crazy violent psychopath.

Without this indispensable work by the media, the British army would not have been able to continue its colonial repression, the beatings, the shootings, killing of children with rubber bullets, body searches, barbed wire. All this, filtered through media lies and distortions are made to seem to the differently but equally exploited of "mainland" oppression, to seem not only normal but necessary.

Real internationalist solidarity with the exploited of Ireland must not only include active counter-information but a decided attack on the structures of the media, class war propaganda machine of the State.

#### **Sabotage against the BBC**

Four high school pupils had no intentions of playing the game and asking any questions of the establishment pundits.

They were all suspended after cutting a cable and wrecking a live broadcast of BBC 4's "Any Questions" at William Farr High School near Lincoln.

#### **Theoretical Clarity**

A radical critique of the Labour Party's swindling, embroiling and repressing of workers and exploited for the most part of this century, reached home in the form of a brick through Neil Kinnock's front window. A china ornament was smashed.

#### **Black Liberation**

An incendiary device was found on an estate in Pendeford, Wolverhampton just before Home Office minister John Patten was due to arrive to launch a campaign to "cut crime in Britain's inner cities." A call to a local newspaper explained: "if the police do not stop their oppressive surveillance of the black community we will continue our struggle until one of them is dead."

Already in March last year an incendiary device was found outside the Wolverhampton civic centre; in July a car wired with a bomb was left outside the Birmingham Road police station, and in November a police car was petrol bombed when it responded to a hoax call. The Black Liberation Front has also claimed the launching of bricks through the windows of the homes of former Wolverhampton Council labour leader John Bird, and that of a black councillor Mel Chevonne Reeves.

These actions follow the death of Clinton McCurbin, murdered in February last year by police who were arresting him. Needless to say local black leaders whose role is to placate the black population, especially the young, controlling and rechanneling their liberatory needs into harmless repetitive enactment within a tightly ghettoised mentality, have condemned and taken a distance from these attacks with cries of 'agent-provocateurs' 'fascists' and such like, showing their own racism by stating that no black group would want to attack black leaders and politicians. Why not?

#### **Direct Action against Shell in Holland**

One day early in March, the Shell petrol pumps in over 20 Dutch towns were damaged in protest against the company's refusal to stop dealing with South Africa. Petrol hoses were cut, self-service machines wrecked and the slogans "Shell blood" and "Shell supports Apartheid" were painted at the sites.

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### Rioting in Shaftesbury Avenue

English football fans fought police and smashed shop windows in Shaftesbury Avenue on the day of the England/Holland football match. Later, at the match itself, police in riot gear came under a barrage of cans by about 500 English supporters outside the stadium.

Burn every political perspective  
Every cultural alternative  
Discover your subversive singularity  
Don't be manipulated by the behaviourist codes  
Of the normalisers and disciplinarians  
Claim your individual autonomy as a starting point  
For the complete overthrow of existing society  
Subvert the caged imagery dictated by the media  
And let your imagination dance free  
Beyond taboos and inhibitions  
The spectacle adorns itself with corpses  
That submerge reality under structural ghosts  
Congealing passion and life  
Within the prefabricated scenario of terror  
Which like gangrene spreads its death song  
Don't be caged into collective alienation  
That mental prison of capital and state  
To see it shatter won't be a happy sight for them  
Freedom demands the unlimited destruction of power  
The destruction of their world  
Forged on the chains of sacrifice  
And suffering of millions  
Life is rebelling and reclaiming its dues

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## Editorial

The passage to post-industrial capitalism is not complete. It is a thorny road, opening up new contradictions which previous forms of exploitation that nailed masses of people to the workplace were able to suffocate.

What little remains of the traditional workforce is still being tailored down through early retirements and redundancies. Those for whom there is still a place are finding themselves accomplices to a production process that demands no-strike deals and even no union presence at all.

The rest of the exploited have become a mobile army of underpayed, unskilled workers, students or unemployed. The single individual sometimes finds him/herself adopting these different roles in rotation, seeing no outlet on the horizon, facing a future of vague questions that hold no apparent solution.

The absence of the great military-style factories has led to a mass regimentation into leisure centres, football stadiums, discos, megaconcerts, etc, to dilute and channel frustrations and aspirations into these modern day enclaves. To some extent they are succeeding, but the containment is far from being complete. The much publicised rural violence, inner city riots and football hooliganism are the arenas where some of the deeper contrasts of this project of cultural and social annihilation, and the blind, inarticulate struggle to "be," are expressing themselves.

It is clear then that the new structure of capital that is emerging is also defining the conditions of the struggle. The State's aim is to render the latter impotent, but the ineliminable fact of exploitation makes that impossible.

What is being eliminated is the old concept of struggle within the factory gates. At best it is now taking place outside them, after the key has been thrown away. That does not mean the struggle has become redundant. It means we have to open our eyes to see where it really is taking place. Nor does it mean that the struggle at the factory gate has lost its validity – it hasn't if it is taken away from the logic of union bargaining and linked to the whole social process. In this context anarchist dreams of building huge organisations in order to expropriate the means of production and put them to good social use for the benefit of all, refer to a reality that no longer exists. They are based on a sentimental link with the past and have no bearing on what is happening today or will happen in the future.

To take over the capitalist system of production today would be to inherit a militarily planned, death-orientated structure which could never be put to "good" social use. First, because we do not possess the language with which to use it. Second, because there can be no good use of a network of data and technology whose sole purpose is power and the accumulation of knowledge related to that technology. Anything else is marginal and subjugated to this project. There is nothing left but to destroy it all, and from this to build a new world with man as its point of reference.

To flank trade union conflicts that arise from the restructuring of capital, without bringing a new element into these conflicts that aims to take them beyond their uniquely political nature, can only fuel illusions among those who are paying a high price for their new misery. Comrades who see these struggles as the privileged sector for intervention and go into them acritically, bear considerable responsibility.

Various factors come to play: illusion, ignorance, a sense of guilt, the refusal to see the need for analysis, the need to feel the immediate satisfaction of striking a few cops, and so on. Another reason is the conformism within some areas of the movement to a kind of workerist fundamentalism that reduces comrades to enacting a parody of party politics, with the variant that they are less efficient, and adhere to different (but just as rigid) rules of behaviour and costume.

They condemn the actions of individuals or small groups as "irrational" or "elitist." In this way a preventive censorship is taking place within the movement, in the attempt to ensure that order remains within the ranks, that nothing will happen to rock the boat of a reasonably planned,

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painstakingly structured phantom that in some way, some how, some time, is to take humanity into a new world of freedom and creativity.

Then there are those who do act, who do appreciate the value of the small group, the simple action, the superfluity of organisation without action. These groups have given a considerable methodological contribution to the struggle. What they lack is a social and class perspective with the result that their actions, no matter how well prepared and successful in the immediate sense, fall into the logic of reformism due to the comrades' obtusity in seeing the struggle in one single issue. Here we can include the active part of the feminist movement, the anti-nuclear activists, the ecology direct action groups, animal liberation groups, radical homosexuals, etc. On the one hand we have fear of the freedom to make decisions and act on one's own initiative and responsibility. On the other, the fear of moving into a radical critique of the whole of social relations. There is nothing 'abnormal' about these fears. They are a more than normal product of society under capitalism. They can be overcome. Not all at once. But the construction of the self that has been stolen from us can only come about through acting now, in a perspective of revolutionary totality.

## A Question of Class

*Contrary to what many believe, class is not a marxist concept. While we reject the marxist claims to the historic role of the industrial working class above all the other exploited, it is obvious that society is still divided into opposing classes. The terms of this division are changing with the modification of capital. It is important to recognise this in order to address our attack towards the right objectives in the struggle.*

Many anarchists believe that the idea of "class" is a marxist concept, therefore they have no interest in it and they try to work out other ways of accounting for social divisions.

These divisions clearly exist. Conflict and suffering dominate present day reality. The great masses who support the profiteers and their henchmen are barely managing to survive

themselves.

It is therefore necessary to trace the outlines of the groupings or individuals who share the same economic, political, and cultural social situation, no matter how difficult that may be.

It is true that the term "class" has been dominated by Marxist mystification for the past forty years. This is not so much in Marx's identification of classes, as his claim that the industrial working class is historically destined to bring about not only its own liberation, but also that of the whole of humanity, through the guidance of the party that represents it.

Any anarchist can see how absurd and mistaken this concept of class is. But we should remember that this is not so much to do with the concept of class, as the deterministic and messianic role that was thrust upon the industrial working class.

We think that the concept of class is not only valid, but necessary. It is an instrument to guide us through the flux of the various aspects of social reality. What we are not interested in are the mystical claims about the destiny of the industrial working class.

One thing we can say with certainty is that the productive structures that defined class divisions in the recent past are now undergoing profound changes. What is also certain is that although different in many respects, a conflict that is just as bitter is being reproduced.

The problem is to see how this is happening. What are we dealing with today? What marks the boundary between the dominating part of humanity and the rest?

This is such an important question that it puts the need to study intermediate strata into second place for the time being. Equally unimportant—for the time being—is the need to consider a repartition into three or more classes. What interests us now is the progressive disappearance of traditional class divisions and the emergence of a new one.

Clearly such an argument needs more space than we can dedicate to it here, but we shall do the best we can. The preceding class division was based on a lack. There was something that was considered the "common good" that was divided into unequal parts. The class in power took possession of the greater part of this

good (commonly known as wealth), and from this unjust profit drew the means to continue exploitation and domination.

In the first place these were the cultural and ideological means on which a whole scale of values was based and which condemned the expropriated mass to what seemed an irreversible situation.

In fact, the profound contradictions within the system itself had just as radical effect on it as the struggle against such forms of domination.

Recurring social problems were solved by improving working conditions.

The situation was becoming intolerable for capital and it had to strengthen its structures by increasing collaboration between States. But it has been advanced technology that has made a decisive impact by making the restructuring of production possible.

We are now heading towards a radically different situation. The question of "lack" is becoming more hazy, while the question of "possession" is emerging. **Class difference is no longer created by not possessing as much as the other, but by the fact—unique in the history of mankind—that one part possesses something that the other does not.**

To understand this better we must remember that in the past the exploited class always "possessed" something, even if it was only their working strength, ie their capacity to produce. They were always forced to sell it, that is true, and often at a very low price, but the other side always needed it. The bargaining could even reach the point of these miserable vendors of their labour power being grabbed by the scruff of the neck, but no one could deny that the working class had a possession that was part of the same scale of values as that of the dominant class. In the past, exploiters and exploited faced each other (also within the considerable range of class stratifications) on the basis of a possession that was common to both, but owned unequally. Now one side possesses something that the other does not, and never will.

This thing is technology: the technological management of dominion, the construction of an exclusive language belonging to a class of included. They are surrounding themselves

with a great wall that is far higher than the one in the past that consisted of material wealth and was defended by bodyguards and safes. This wall will be a radical separation, so clear cut as to be incomprehensible—in the short term—to those who do not find themselves within the process of inclusion. The remainder, the excluded, will become a class of external beneficiaries, capable only of using secondary technology and perfectly instrumental to the project of dominion.

**The excluded part of humanity will not be able, at least for a very long time to come, to realise what has been taken from them, because it will be a product that no longer belongs to the same scale of values.** In building this new and, they hope, final separation, they are also building a new moral code that no longer belongs to the same scale of values, a kind of moral code that it no longer intends to share with others, with those who belong to the world of the excluded. In the past the Achille's heel was precisely this moral code. It was useful in many ways towards ensuring a better control, but it often resulted in the exploiters feeling the hot breath of their followers on the back of their necks.

So this new situation that is on the road to completion is building new class structures but is not abolishing the concept of class. This is not a question of terminology, but an operational necessity. **At the moment the concept of class and "class conflict" seem quite adequate for indicating the processes of social structures and how they function.** In the same way it is still possible to use the concept of "class consciousness" in the face of the increasing difficulty that the "excluded" are faced with concerning their own condition of exclusion.

Every revolutionary strategy we can imagine for resistance against the process of restructuring in course should bear in mind the modifications that are underway and, within certain limits, the stratification within the classes themselves. Perhaps in this early phase the margins of the included class (the enemy class) are not easy to define. We will therefore have to address our attack towards objectives that are more obvious. But this is only a question of documentation and analysis.

What is more important at this stage is to show that discussions on terminology are not going to solve the problem of finding the enemy and unmasking it. A persistence in doing this merely hides the incapacity to act.

AMB

## Against Technology

*A revolutionary project must comprehend the destruction of all of the structures that have been built by capital. A perspective that aims to save the technological aspect of present day capitalism, believing it can be put to good social use, would mean to conserve a system of knowledge that has come from military research. Revolution cannot come about only in the parts of social reality we do not like. It also means opening up new spheres of human knowledge.*

*A perspective based on the need to completely destroy technology is confusing to many comrades, and a considerable number of them refuse to accept it. They find it more reasonable and realistic to consider only the problem of destroying so-called hard technology (all kinds of nuclear armaments, asbestos, etc). They consider soft technology (electronics, information technology, etc) socially useful and think they will be able to make good use of it in the future, as though the latter could be detached from the logic of domination that produced and developed it.*

In this way comrades are demonstrating an enlightened positivist attitude to science. They claim the instruments produced by technological and scientific knowledge are neutral, and only criticise the bad social use that Power puts them to.

We think, on the contrary, that the instruments created by Power cannot fail to obey the logic that created them. They are totally functional to its aims no matter who uses them and in spite of any apparent advantages they might bring to society.

We are against those who are always trying to justify things, saying that there is some good at the base of everything, and it deserves to be preserved. Moreover, we think it is useful to place an element of doubt into the swamp of

certainties and commonplaces that abound.

Those who maintain there is an absolute need for existing technology are the bosses, governors and their multitude of servants. They all have good reason for doing so, no doubt. Comrades, on the other hand, should have just as good reasons for always being suspicious of such attitudes. Things become tragic when we see an identity of viewpoint between those in power and those struggling against it.

**All the base technology that is used in every field of social life today comes from military research.** Its civil use obeys this logic far more than we immediately understand. Until now all we have succeeded in demonstrating has been the precise, scientific, authoritarian project at organisational level. It is important to understand the unconscious mechanisms that operate at mass level, allowing the power structure to overcome people's initial rejection and gain their full support. Only a few to want to safeguard some technologies over others is to put an obstacle in the way of the destruction of the whole order of dominion people contest cybernetic command. The general tendency is a feeling of inevitability. It is coming to be considered indispensable, therefore socially useful. Anyone who points out the need for the total destruction of the technological apparatus produced by capital is passed off as an irresponsible madman who wants to take civilisation back to the Stone Age.

This does not have to be the case, if one thinks about it. Present day technology is the practical result of a form of knowledge that matured during capital's industrial development. It is always motivated by those who are in power. To want to safeguard some technologies over others is to put an obstacle in the way of the total destruction of the whole productive order of dominion. It also means to put a limit on revolutionary action and maintain an ambiguous social relationship with such structures.

So those who, although they say they are revolutionary, support the need to safeguard part of capital's productive technology, do not see that in doing so they are lending a hand to the declared reformists.

The latter, more coherently, support a

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continual modification of all the organisms of power in such a way that the system is always functional and updated to meet the new needs of domination and social change.

Our radical project to destroy technology must be within the revolutionary process, and we should put no limits on the course of this or circumscribe it to within our presently limited knowledge.

The problem of a contemporary social revolution cannot be resolved with recourse to the knowledge that has been acquired until now and which is limited by the interests of Power. We are against those who see present day knowledge as something that has reached its conclusion.

As for how things stand now: the so-called scientists who are studying artificial intelligence or the application of present-day technology in other fields, are in fact scientific workers. They are highly specialised in one sector (the scientific one) but most of them are unaware of what is happening in other fields of research, not to mention the rest of society which they often neglect completely in their aseptic laboratories.

The way these scientific workers think greatly resembles the machines they project. They apply binary logic and are basically incapable of thinking beyond this. There is no creative reasoning, they cannot bring any development of thought into the field of knowledge. It is only our ignorance that makes us consider them great brains. This is an important factor that should be gone into further. **Scientists are in fact the new intermediate class produced by the technological revolution.**

The greatest discoveries have always been made when the principle of authority was absent or vacillating at all levels—as happened at the beginning of the century—and this also applies to the field of science. **We cannot be revolutionaries concerning only the one social structure we do not accept**, but must be so in all fields, including the scientific one. The dominating order we want to destroy has roots everywhere, therefore should be attacked everywhere.

The only attitude to have towards the bosses of science is that of discerning what

they are hiding behind all the things that seem innocuous and humane to the profane public.

This is very important as we are used to being aware of only the most noticeable and superficial things around us. The bosses and their servants take great care to show us certain things, just enough to capture our innate curiosity, pushing us to look at things that in reality are of no importance. We thus miss out the most important things that are brought about without our knowledge, to our cost. We should not underestimate the enemy's intelligence. The aim of those who dominate is to use all the scientific instruments that present-day scientific knowledge has to offer, not to alleviate suffering but to continue it within a set of relations that are modified from time to time. Capital and State find themselves obliged to carry out this incessant modification because of the unrelenting struggle that the proletariat carry on against them daily. In fact, notwithstanding the great transferral of wealth that takes place every day in the attack on the exploited, it would not take much for the latter to thwart the bosses' projects.

Once they show their intention to destroy things radically, revolutionaries gain an immeasurable advantage, as the attack on the State and capital becomes one that knows no limits and intends to concede nothing to the enemy. This is why it is necessary to destroy the entire technological apparatus, beyond the use that anyone may think to make of it in the future. It will prevent the struggle from falling into the trap laid by the radical reformists who, from the partial destruction of the structures of domination have made the starting point for restructuring.

We are therefore against those who support political criticism, even in the field of science, because such a critique always tries to reduce the reasons for radical opposition to a simple question of detail concerning certain operative choices. In this way the supporters of the political critique are looking for adjustment and compromise with the class enemy who is intelligently disposed to formally modifying its own position, with the aim of reconstructing a new, more rational consensus around the threatening institutions.

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No fetish should remain in our minds. If we have had the strength to build ourselves a thousand chains we also have the power to break them. **The decision to push ourselves beyond the barriers of prejudice and taboo is up to us.**

Pierleone Porcu

## Pinelli, Nineteen Years On

*An ex-Lotta Continua militant has accused himself and three others of being responsible for the death of Pinelli's executioner, police commissioner Ccdabresi, in 1972. The question is not whether the four accused are responsible for this act, so much as at the time, there was a general feeling among comrades that Pinelli's murder had been avenged.*

A few weeks ago, an ex Lotta Continua militant, Leonardo Marino, presented himself to a Milan judge and confessed to having participated, along with others, in the execution of the political police commissioner Luigi Calabresi 16 years ago.

Comrades will remember that it was Calabresi who was in charge of the interrogation of anarchist Giuseppe Pinelli on December 16 when the comrade was said to *commit suicide* by *falling out* of the top floor window of the police headquarters in Milan. Other elements of the political police and the secret services were also present.

Certainly, it was nothing new then, nor is it now, for police interrogators to use methods of convincing that result in the death of those undergoing them. Not to mention the systematic use of torture of every variety that is used as a matter of course to force confessions out of proletarians.

What happened then in the Milan police headquarters that makes the case of Pinelli particular?

One must remember the climate of the times: the events of '68 were still fresh. The Hot Autumn of 1969 where the struggles around the renewal of wages contracts were escaping the control of the trades unions. The anarchists, perhaps more for their potential role as a

point of reference in the future than their real presence in these struggles, had to be presented as scapegoats.

As always when the State sees itself threatened, when the usual methods of maintaining consensus are no longer sufficient, it sets its reserve bodies in motion: fascists, death squads, military coups, etc.

In this case it was a combination of fascists and secret services which produced the bomb which exploded in the Banca del Agricoltura in piazza Fontana, Milan on December 12, 1969. That same day the chemical industry union signed the *confindustria* wages contract, thus breaking the workers' front. The State feared the reaction of the mechanical sector, and needed to create a diversion that would at the same time capture the attention of the whole country, and create a climate of fear aimed at pushing the workers back into the ranks of the trades unions.

That wasn't enough. Public attention had to be turned towards and against the anarchists. Valpreda and two other anarchists were arrested. Pinelli was summoned for questioning and put to silence. In fact Calabresi was already renowned for his interrogation technique: making his victims sit on the window ledge of his room and inviting them to throw themselves down onto the pavement below.

When Calabresi was later executed there was a general sense of relief and vindication among comrades. Pinelli's murder had been avenged.

Now the latest *pentito* has appeared on the scene, accusing himself and three other ex militants of Lotta Continua: Adriano Sofri, ex national leader of the organisation; Giorgio Pietrostefano, ex director of the *servizio d'ordine*; and Ovidio Bompresso. The first two he claims gave orders for the action to take place, the latter, he claims, was the person who shot Calabresi. All three totally reject Marino's accusations.

## Sabotage Against Shell

*Shell is one of the few multinationals that are openly continuing to work in South Africa, supporting*

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*and guaranteeing its racist government. The many attacks against the company's petrol stations in Holland and Sweden can be seen as revolutionary solidarity in the struggle against apartheid and the multinationals.*

Shell held a shareholders' meeting in Holland at the beginning of 1988. Demonstrators mingled with the ordinary shareholders and protested against Shell's involvement in South Africa. At the end of the meeting Shell's board of directors unanimously decided that under no circumstances would they be leaving South Africa. As one of the directors puts it in an internal letter, Shell is trying to develop commercially and "work in accordance with existing laws in a way that responds to society in a socially responsible way. The most important contribution that the company can make to society and to the material progress of the countries where it exists, is by being as efficient as possible."

In spite of these grand statements, things are beginning to go downhill for Shell. They are beginning to feel the boycott campaign that is going on in Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and the USA.

It is only in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark that the boycott has led to noticeable losses for Shell, however.

In Denmark, for example, the boycott began in 1986. In spite of that, a spokesman for Danish Shell says in *Politiken* (a Danish daily) on May 11, that the boycott has not affected them economically, but that the sabotage has cost the company large sums of money.

Such a speech should not be taken too literally, as it is hardly in Shell's interest to incite people to sabotage.

It is more an attempt to put an end to the boycott campaign by making it seem ineffective. But both methods are important in order to try to force Shell to their knees. Some forms of dissent have been crushed in the past, and that is why it is necessary to have a clear ideological position. The ISAK (Swedish anti-apartheid movement) have been backing this campaign of dissuasion by talking about "good" and "bad" forms of resistance to apartheid, and could end up condemning themselves if Shell continues to make similar accusations.

#### *Beyond Sectarianism*

When Joyce Mekhesi met Brand she pointed out that sectarianism is a great problem within the solidarity organisations in Western Europe. We met her when she was on a world tour to seek support for the release of the Sharpeville Six. Joyce's brother is one of them, and in her attempt to save them she has met many different groups, some of which seem to have very little political awareness. For example, some of them seem to think in terms of the "good capitalist," says Joyce, "but as a socialist I can see for instance that Shell is a big multinational company. Regardless of whether they still exploit people in South Africa or not, they are still exploiting people, and you should never accept that. So it is not enough for there to be a few reforms in South Africa, which is what a large part of the world still believes. A fundamental change and a new society is necessary."

#### *Unsuccessful Offensive Against Anti-Shell Activists*

Of course Shell directors are not just sitting on their bottoms waiting for the boycott to have an effect. In their attempt to face it, they are organising large campaigns and trying to enlist the support of the most important petrol consumers by giving them discounts or donating money to charities. Since 1986 Shell have been consulting with Pagan International, which specialises in combating consumer boycotts against large companies.

At the same time the police in Denmark and Holland have begun an offensive against Shell activists. Among other things there have been numerous raids and house searches. They have been pulling people in to the police station in the hope of forcing out confessions, though this has had little result. The police in Holland have been working on this for the past few years. Until 1986 there were two sections that dealt with political activism: the CRI, which is a political bureau, and a special anti-gang squad. Work between them was loosely connected, but then on the orders of the Home Office, they began closer collaboration under the LCT, the national organ under which they work together. The trial period began in January 1986, immediately following two ac-

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tions by RaRa, the Revolutionary antiRacist action group. This group has carried out actions against Shell and Macro, among others.

LCT consists of a) a tactical division, responsible for five daily work of going through cases; b) a technical division which assists the previous one; c) a forensic department for examining finger prints, press releases, etc; d) an administrative department and e) a search group that operates 24 hours a day.

Since the beginning of 1986 there have been 350 police working on political activism daily, and so far they have spent 180 million guilder—about £50 million. The Minister of Justice has stated that for the attempt to become permanent the LCT must produce some results, but so far they have produced little. In conclusion one could say they know a lot about people who carry out actions, and sometimes they succeed in tracking them down. But so far they have only succeeded in arresting five people. Three were arrested due to bad luck and because of bad planning, not because of the work of the police in tracking them down. One person was arrested while carrying out an anti-Shell action, and right now one person is in prison following a large number of raids.

There is no proof against them and the other eight who were taken in at the same time have since been released.

The parliamentary justice commission in Holland which held a meeting on March 28, has confessed in an internal letter that they have exceeded the limits of the law in order to try to arrest people.

#### *A Global Attack*

So, what conclusions can you draw from all this? Well, if you don't talk shit on the telephone, if you don't leave fingerprints, if you don't keep the typewriter on which you write the press releases in your home, and your place is "clean" in other respects so that the police can raid you whenever they please without finding any evidence, then you can conclude that you can keep going indefinitely.

Actions of sabotage against Shell in Sweden alone have cost Shell millions of Kronas, but Shell is a big multinational company, and even if they are worried about this wave of sabotage, more is required in order to force them to leave

South Africa. All companies are insured and it is the insurance companies that are being hit most, but of course Shell has to pay the premium and the day they become such bad customers for the insurance company that they refuse to insure them, then Shell will have to pay every penny themselves. So, if the anti-Shell activists are serious, it will take more than a few broken windows to make the company fall.

One view of the Shell activists that has been put out by the media is that sabotage is an end in itself. The sound of breaking glass, the fragrance of petrol fumes and an action reported in the press. This way of treating activists as hooligans who just can't sit still, is a conscious attempt by the mass media (who are brutally moving public opinion in the direction they want to) to silence a way of thinking that is different to that of the traditional left.

I don't call it hooliganism to go from words to action in one's own area, in one's community, acting in solidarity with other groups struggling in other countries and other parts of the world. When a person is prepared to take a long sentence for attacking a system that is wrong: this cannot be seen as courting the media.

If you understand how the structures of the capitalists are built up and how the big companies are weaving their nets closer and closer around the world, then you realise that the fight against the system has to be carried out globally. An attack on a Shell station in Sveg, a tiny village in the middle of nowhere is as important as an attack against a station in Amsterdam, or as important a part of the struggle as a funeral march in South Africa demonstrating their conviction that Botha should fall. As the system is attacked, weakened and destroyed, so our resistance is strengthened. WE decide how we are going to crush oppression, both through discussion and action. We should not, no, cannot censure the resistance of a struggle against the various rulers, and I do not mean just parliament and governments.

Shell's secret list—the following—of sabotage that has been carried out against the company is not complete. A blockade in Hudducks van is not complete. But it does give some idea of how wide the resistance is.

Most of these actions are not taken up by the national media, and sometimes not even by the local press. It is important therefore that when you do something, you send information to Brand. It is important for the struggle not to be suffocated.

Brand

*NOTE: The South African Economic Affairs Ministry has devised a scheme whereby Shell helps the latter break the oil embargo in exchange for exporting quotas of cheap coal. The coal is offloaded in Dutch ports, and distributed throughout Europe after being blended with Chinese coal to disguise its origins by changing its calorific value. The coal is then sent to traders in Britain, West Germany, France and Italy, and is accounted for as "Dutch imports". For example, officially recorded imports in the UK in 1986 were 100,000 tonnes, whereas the Dutch Bureau of Statistics show that in fact 1.1 million tonnes were shipped to Britain via Dutch ports.*

## Against Ecology

*Against the "alternative" solutions proposed by the ecologists, we see the only way to approach the problem of ecological devastation is within the context of the subversion of all the relations and values on which the capitalist system is based.*

Ecology has become the most relevant social phenomenon at mass level in countries in the postindustrial phase. It is also becoming the affair of the century for capital and the State.

We must therefore look at what the ecological struggle means both to those involved in it, and to the State and capital who are working to preserve their interests.

The ecological struggle has aimed until now at finding "alternative" solutions capable of redressing the balance of man's destructive relationship with nature and breaking with the logic of technological development based on sackage and devastation.

Although the aspirations of the ecologists are right, none of them question the power structure but on the contrary are turning out to be useful to it, enabling it to present itself

in a more critical and attractive guise. When separated from the social question, ecology becomes a great occasion for Power to build grandiose projects of social integration, exploiting the consensus of the proletarian masses towards the ecologists.

The ecological humanitarianism of those who protest against the crazed wasting of resources while millions die of hunger, does not touch capital's postindustrial interests an inch. It becomes an incentive for them in fact to improve their own productive and organisational levels that often lag behind overall levels of industrial development.

Has capital become ecological then? Contrary to the ecologists, we think the answer is yes. At the present time capital is looking for new technologies to overcome the imbalance that still exists in processing raw materials. This is happening through an increased rationalisation of its instruments of production.

That undoubtedly puts a brake on the ecological destruction of the planet, improving the exploitation of resources thanks also to recycling the mountains of refuse that lie unused. The more technologically advanced countries are well ahead in that direction, going towards the creation of a world market linked to soft technology and ecology that represent new frontiers for capital.

In the advanced industrial countries it is the State itself which launches the great campaigns on ecological problems, as it can draw great advantage from the industries which produce instruments for reducing pollution. Another reason is that in this way the State can also guarantee a wider control over society, through the involvement of the great masses who seem to have made this their only form of social involvement.

The development of an ecologically sound technology becomes a way for the more advanced States to increase the dependence of the economically weaker countries on them and affect their future development. Hence the need for States and international capital to invest millions of dollars in financing ecological programmes.

Ecological campaigns are creating a true ecological culture, even in the schools where

there are now specific courses on the subject. It is the more progressive and sensitive politicians who support this project, never missing a chance to underline their engagement and to point out the hard parliamentary battles they are waging against the conservatives.

The environmentalists are giving a hand to capital and the State. The Greens, as well as their ritual protesting, make constructive proposals based on "alternative solutions". In this way they play the role of a "loyal opposition" to the system, not realising that this makes them elements which are involved in its advancement. Their action serves domination.

Although they present themselves as having high social values, they always tend towards the political recuperation of fringes of the anti-institutional opposition.

The Greens want to give domination a human face, so they think it is right for their projects to be financed by the State or by the very structures that are destroying nature. Now they are getting into local bodies, with the effect that the State is now able to extend its dominion to even the most peripheral areas.

Who can have any interest in a prospect aimed at making capital abandon its insane development towards so-called hard technology, substituting "soft" ecological ones, if not those who want to conserve the present social system?

We are not interested in capital's development, be it hard or soft. We are only interested in destroying capital as a system, along with the State apparatus all over the world that supports it.

The ecologist spectacle wants us to participate in this system of death, trying to nail us to an ongoing situation of survival. We are submitting to it with supine resignation when we promote ecological battles against the imminent death of the planet.

It is necessary to do more. The violent rupture with constituted order is a vital necessity for us. In this sense we propose putting the ecological struggle on an insurrectional footing.

Ecology is important only if it is understood within a radical process of transformation, as this is the only way it can be used to speed up the end of this society of domination.

We therefore have two roads: the first starts from the destruction of the relationship with power in order to reach an egalitarian, free, ecological society; the second limits itself to saving the planet from complete destruction. If we choose the first road we will always find comrades who support our initiatives. If we choose the second, these comrades will see us as their enemies.

We too are for ecology and against all kinds of pollution, but we see the ecological struggle within the context requiring the total subversion of all the relations and values on which the system is based.

Pierleone Porcu

## Sabotage of Information Technology Systems

*Information systems and the data they contain have become the backbone of capital and the State. They could be compared to the blood circulation. What is certain is that the present economic, political and social formation can no longer function without this network which is taking on greater and greater proportions.*

*A centralised coordination of the whole of information technology is unthinkable at present and for a long time to come. Very complex systems do exist, but they are only linked together in part. Telematic knowledge is the wealth of the post-industrial era, and, like all wealth, it is being accumulated. What is transmitted is just enough to guarantee supremacy and domination. Perhaps capital is behind the times in maintaining this tendency to accumulate, but at present it is at the root of competition in the field of information technology.*

*Although attacking and destroying these systems, or at least damaging them significantly, is valid in revolutionary terms, it should be said that the bosses of the economy and politics are defending themselves more from competition and piracy than from sabotage and destruction as a consequence of social unrest. There is a great reluctance among those affected by these attacks to discuss the extent of them. One of the main aspects of information technology is its own myth. An idea of the extent of these attacks,*

*however, can be had from a glance at a 1986 French insurance company report: £700 million pounds paid out, 44% of which for fraud, theft or sabotage; 30% for accidents and breakdowns and 26% for software or human error. The more companies rely on computer communications, the more the risk of sabotage increases. For this reason companies exist who specialise in working out expedients of defence. What follows is some of these, and some of the forms of attack that have been studied and carried out.*

Decodification Research Group

### The Problem of Plant Layout

A complex information system such as that belonging to any private or public economic or political structure occupies very considerable space and has to be installed in an environment which has certain characteristics.

Some of these characteristics concern the temperature, dust, conditions of electrical supply, etc. Others on the other hand concern the methods that can be used to obstruct anyone who wants to enter the environment in question in order to destroy or damage the information system, etc.

There are three kinds of defence:

a) External defence: usually walls, gates or other structures that isolate and encircle the whole building where the computer is to be found. This is not a very effective form of defence, even though, through the use of video cameras and video control they can prevent or delay an attack by one person or a small group. This defence turns out to be of little effect in the case of mass demonstrations or riots.

b) Access points: doors, manhole covers, air vents, service tunnels, windows, etc are usually closed and supplied with simple alarm systems. Usually this point of access is only practicable if it is certain that there is no alarm attached, otherwise it would be better to carefully devise another way of access, through a roof for example, or through possible communicating doors, walls, etc with other buildings. The question of alarms is not all that simple for whoever is in charge of plant security. There is always the possibility of inside intervention which would allow alarm systems to be

disconnected. Two systems of control are therefore normally in use: internal (alarms) and external (security guards on patrol).

c) Particular forms of protection: in the form of objects where the information system is located. In this way areas of maximum security are created. They can be containers or vaults. The containers are actually safes or reinforced cupboards containing registrations or documents, and are both fire resistant and burglar-proof. They are usually less resistant to dynamite.

The vault, on the other hand, is a permanent construction inside the building in question. It is usually made of iron or steel and reinforced concrete. It is reached through a door with steel reinforcements.

d) Data processing room: these are rooms similar to the treasuries of the large banks, usually less armoured. They are larger than vaults and are not very resistant to break-ins and sabotage with explosives. They are rooms therefore that are more suitable to resisting fire than break-ins and sabotage by explosives. Inside these rooms are usually fire-proof and burglar-proof cupboards where ribbons and discs are kept.

e) Closed areas: these are areas where access is controlled even during working hours. The computer room, the area of access to vaults and data processing rooms. Only those with passes can enter.

These are usually areas that are also guarded by armed guards.

### Security Systems

1) Electrical circuits: these are systems that go off following the interruption or closure of an electrical circuit. They can be found in any part of the route that must be covered and can also control the opening of the buildings.

2) Photo-electric cells: they reveal the passage of a person or object in certain points of the establishment. Some can be neutralised by pointing a beam of light at the cell. Others require this beam of light to be at a certain frequency. Their presence can be discovered by blowing cigarette smoke on to the luminous beam, but some types of cells do exist that use

- beams of light whose frequency is outside the spectrum visible to the naked eye.
- 3) Sound-detecting devices: these can be microphones that reveal noise or vibrations, even very weak ones.
  - 4) Ultrasound detectors: these are devices that are in two parts: one generates the ultrasound, the other, captures it. In normal conditions the amount of ultrasound is constant. A sudden variation in the amount sets off the alarm.
  - 5) Devices that reveal variations in intensity of an electrical field: they work by setting off the alarm when a person or object goes through a magnetic field.
  - 6) Magnet detectors: as it is possible to wipe out data registrations with magnets, this is one of the means most frequently used by saboteurs. Detectors show the presence of a magnet at a distance of nine metres.
  - 7) ID card readers: these can be placed at entrances and are linked by door-opening devices which work by reading a magnetic card belonging to an authorised person whose code is registered.
  - 8) Closed circuit television: these are situated in the key points to be controlled. They usually transmit images to a central control post and usually cover different areas of the establishment.
  - 9) Theft indicators: objects that can be removed (such as tapes, discs, etc) are marked with a special substance (as happens with books in some bookshops today), and the alarm goes off when they pass a special instrument near the exit.

### Fires

This is the easiest form of sabotage and thus is among the things borne in mind by whoever organises the security system for computers. The contrivances used are:

- a) air vents built in such a way as to make the passage of flames more difficult;
- b) apparatus spread out in such a way as to reduce probability of it all being damaged by fire;
- c) no data or inflammable material kept near computers;
- d) manual extinguishers;
- e) automatic antifire devices;

- f) smoke detectors;
- g) emergency buttons;
- h) important data kept in fire-proof cupboards in vaults;
- i) backup data is always kept somewhere outside the building;
- m) all backup copies of the programmes are also kept outside the building;
- n) previsions for the immediate installation of a replacement computer are made in the case of the complete destruction of the first.

### Sabotage

It is not necessary for the attack to take place directly on the computer. The damage can be just as serious even if has come about indirectly.

Violent sabotage carried out from outside the building (using explosives for example), can only be considered in extreme (infrequent) cases in which the room has a communicating wall with the outside.

It is easier to work out how the plants that allow for the computer's functioning are laid out: the airconditioning, electrical transformers, communication lines, main power supply, etc.

It is usually possible for saboteurs to inject gas or inflammable liquid into the air conditioning plants which can explode on reaching the air conditioner, causing considerable damage.

The communication lines are the most exposed. They are usually protected and also duplicated, but they can be identified and easily destroyed. The connections are in a reinforced cupboard, but one that is certainly not indestructible.

Often these subsidiary aspects of the computer are camouflaged but cannot be completely protected. The mainline power supply for example is always unprotected and the lines leading from this are clearly indicated and easily recognisable.

A few things should be said concerning wiping or destroying registrations with the use of magnets. First of all, this is a question of "internal" sabotage that can be carried out by people working inside the structure housing the information system, or it must be a question of structures that have no protection at all. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that for data to be completely wiped out it is

necessary for a permanent magnet to be placed at a distance of not more than 16cm from the surface to be erased. If it is an electromagnet, even if it is very strong the distance must be no more than 30 centimetres. One can see therefore that this kind of sabotage is less simple than it might seem at first glance. It should also be noted that in the more important complexes there are always magnet detectors installed above the entrances and close to the tape stores.

The use of strong electromagnetic radiation from outside can cause minimal damage to either data processing or to the recordings, but these errors can now be isolated and corrected. Moreover the radiation must be over 1 Volt/metre in intensity.

It goes without saying that once inside the plant, practically touching the computer or the stores of tapes and discs, the sabotage takes quite a different direction, and methods of defence are practically useless. That is why, basically, the thing most to be borne in mind by all the defence systems of such plants is precisely controlling all those who have access to the building in question.

#### *Flooding*

Something just as dangerous for the computer can be water. Flooding can destroy systems and render data useless.

For this reason water extinguishers are hardly ever used in the computing rooms, although they are better and less expensive than carbon nitrate or Halon ones. The route usually chosen for flooding is the air-conditioning plants. Other places where water can filter, especially in plants in establishments that are not isolated are: the attic, side entrances, the floor (if there is a cellar).

Water damage does not only concern the computer and data but also causes shortcircuits that can affect the whole apparatus.

#### *"Hacking"*

Computerised systems have become increasingly vulnerable to electronic penetration. This can be with a simple interceptor or a sophisticated terminal.

With the dramatic increase in the use of personal computers and domestic terminals (more than three million in the USA in 1985) even an amateur can penetrate most computerised

systems. Whoever wants to can intercept transmissions of information from the lines of a system and also take over the file from a central computer.

#### *Interference*

The commonest and the oldest of the systems of sabotage used. The tools required to intercept other lines is easily accessible and can be acquired in any computer shop. They are:

- a good microphone
- an am-fm radio
- a modem modulator-demodulator
- a computer terminal with printer.

It is enough to link up directly by telephone, naturally after having overcome the password which is often not impossible.

#### *Getting Control*

The microphone is placed in a computer installation to intercept the oral communications between operators. The system is simple and can supply precious information concerning the information system, its personelle, security, codes of access, etc.

#### *Masking*

One enters the system taking on the identity of an authorised user. Systems that do not have a way of identifying the users and installations are often vulnerable to this. "Masking" involves pressuring an authorised user, or taking the password from a document or report. This is often possible, even from discarded papers.

#### *Reading in Driblets*

The entry, once authorised, can be brief. That way the intruder can avoid staying a long time: identifying the whole content gradually until he finds the information that seems to be most important.

#### *The Dustbin*

In this case the carelessness of personnel who should be destroying surplus registered information can be exploited.

#### *Bugging*

One exploits the radiation generated by the processor in the central computer through the telephone or other receivers or microwaves. These interceptions are difficult to decipher, as the signals can come out in a confused way due to a particular defence system inserted within the system itself.

### *Catching Off Guard*

One exploits any delay, mistake, or omission by users during verification procedures in order to get hold of the access codes. Then one adopts a system of masking for entering and intercepting communications.

### *Change of Code*

This is only possible through internal complicity. In fact one can change the code on access card through a further registration.

### *Entrance Between the Lines*

The non-authorised terminal is linked to an authorised one then, when this penetrates the system, it marks it quite easily. Often in fact, once the communication is inserted there are periods of inactivity that can be exploited.

### *The Trojan Horse*

These are programme which claim to do one thing and in fact do something else. They appear, from their purpose, to do something harmless, but are really in the process of destroying the hard disc. These are not one of the various joke programmes that are in circulation, but are actually destructive. They affect the boot sector, the FAT and the directory, which all DOS disks have. If the boot sector is missing, the DOS will report that the disk is not a DOS disk, and it won't be able to find its way around. After the boot comes the File Allocation Table (FAT). This simple table is used by DOS to keep track of which piece of disk belongs to which file. Without this the data is all on the disk, but DOS can't read a file as it can't locate on the disk. Scrambling the FAT is a good way to destroy data. On bulletin board systems there is a file of such programmes that circulates, called "The Dirty Dozen" – although the number on it has now risen to over 200.

### *The Brain Virus*

This has infected many PCs in a Midlands university which refuses to disclose its name. It also infected a Leicester consultancy with discs from Pakistan. The Victoria office of a major British company is also "infected" – this time from Jakarta. A fourth is a major insurance company whose originally infected disc came from the Philippines. The Brain virus is so-called because when it detonates it puts a volume label on the diskette '(c) Brain'. It writes the volume label a few places after the last file

so that DOS won't see it until the extra directory entries have been added. The Brain replaces the boot sector with its own code, and stores the rest of itself in sectors further down the disc that are marked as bad sectors in the FAT. On bootup the Brain is run and installs itself in the memory. Thereafter diskette access will install itself on that diskette.

### *The Italian Bouncing Virus*

This works the same way as the Brain but with the distinguishing effect that a little bouncing ball appears on the screen and even after being erased reappears when the system clock reaches the right value. It comes from Italy and is infecting a South London College.

### *The Boot Killer Virus*

This is a deadly one. It creates chains of lost clusters on a hard disc, denying use of disc space. Sometimes it also formats the first track of a diskette, with eight sectors instead of nine, numbering the sectors from two to nine. The DOS cannot then find a sector one. The diskette is unusable, and all the data is lost. This infection renders computers useless.

### *Writing Viruses*

A book exists on how to write a virus, but it is not available in the UK. It gives the source code for several viruses in different languages (C, Pascal, assembler, etc). The programming required to produce a virus is fairly complicated. A simple one could be written in about two weeks, a more complex one as much as two months. Two months' work that could have a devastating and incalculable effect on the workings of Power.

### *The Computer Virus*

In the field of information technology sabotage the media have been reporting recently on the existence of a "virus" which, as well as destroying programmes, causes irreparable damage to computer memories. What it consists of are discs containing "killer-messages" which, once they are fed into a computer render it practically unusable. The message inserts itself into a part of the memory, infects it partly or completely, altering it (according to what type of virus is inserted), and it is impossible to erase it, even by putting the machine out of action.

Even healthy discs put into the computer where the killer-message programme has

passed are contaminated and damaged irreparably.

As well as terrifying the bosses of the electronic market and giving controllers of computerised surveillance installations nightmares, this sabotage also has considerable economic consequences. This rapidly spreading phenomenon not only nullifies claims of security, but could lead to the blocking of all functioning computers, including those used for maintaining social control.

All the most technologically advanced countries are therefore living in the terror that this dangerous epidemic might extend to the point of contaminating the millions of computers that are already functioning in every part of the planet. Computer AIDS knows no frontiers and has already extended to most of Europe, the Middle East (Israel), North America (Canada and the USA), Asia (Japan), to as far as the Australian continent (New Zealand).

A preliminary analysis of this phenomenon reveals a number of "viral branches" that present varying levels of danger. The list is an extremely long one. We shall mention only a few instances here.

One of the most dangerous "viruses" for information technology is one which turned up in Jerusalem University, defined by the Israeli authorities a "parasite" which, attacking other programmes, is slowly developing until it causes the progressive paralysis of the whole computer memory. An Israeli expert, Yossi Gil, announced through the military radio, "*We have identified the "virus" before it managed to destroy the memory of all the computers belonging to Jerusalem University containing documents, study programmes and exam results.*" A lecturer from the same university, Daniel Liman, declared, "*The problem came to light when an increasing number of computers began to stop functioning inexplicably. We discovered that someone had added to a programme a section that reproduced itself each time it is activated, to the point of reaching monstrous dimensions that leave no room for the rest of the programme within the disc.*" But what worried him and caused panic among the Israeli authorities was the discovery by a university student Yuval Rakavy of the existence of a "virus" that saturates computer memories and

which had been programmed like a time bomb to devastate Israeli computers on May 13. It was to tell the computer to destroy itself. They said it was Palestinian sabotage as May 13 was the fortieth anniversary of the last day of the existence of the Palestinian State.

Although various firms have been struck by the computer "virus" in France, the only one to admit so publicly has been the "Loriciels," a video-games industry. The other firms have preferred to remain silent about the attacks on them it seems. The director of the above-mentioned company, Claude Akriche, stated he had received the programmed disc by post, inserted it into the computer which a week later began to "act strangely", disobeying instructions.

Among the "viruses" considered to be less dangerous for computer memories is one discovered recently at Turin Polytechnic. It makes a dot appear on the screen which bounces against the edges of the video passing between the written lines. It is enough to switch the machine off to get rid of it, but this does not completely eliminate it and it reappears again after some time.

Still among the "viruses" that contain more of a joke element is something that is being prepared in Germany by a group there: a "virus" to be inserted into the telefax telecopier. With a simple automatism the "fax-virus" will gain access to the transmission of documents, sending out in their place an irreverent pornographic comic strip to millions of users all over the world.

The danger of the "viruses" is therefore in their capacity to spread and reproduce themselves, rapidly passing from one disc to the other, right to the internal memory of the computer.

It has become an accepted fact that it is not difficult for anyone who knows the architecture of a computer today to overcome the access barrier, inoculating it with apparently innocuous input capable of irreparably damaging the memory. And this form of inconvenience can even reach such systems of communication and services as the French "Miltel," given that its central computer could be attacked by receiving "deviant" orders via

one of the many computers linked to it.

As usually happens in cases such as this, various theories are developed about the origins of the "viral" phenomenon. Those responsible can be groups of hackers, modern pirates amusing themselves by playing atrocious jokes on the software bosses. Another theory is that the "viruses" on a planetary scale are operated by multinationals to save themselves from theft and protect their own programmes from counterfeiters. It is possible that they have studied security systems where the injection of a "virus" protects their own programmes by setting off as soon as any illicit copying starts. Two large American companies declared some time ago that they had prepared a security programme which would destroy all the users lines.

There are also authentic saboteurs of information systems such as the Swiss group called SCA (Swiss Cracking Association) that has contributed to the spreading of the virus, demonstrating the weakness of the elaborator's surveillance systems.

As far as antidotes are concerned, there are no programmes capable of combatting all types of viruses, only specialised programmes that fight one individual at a time.

There is also another difficulty. Discs today are capable of holding over 20 million characters, while a virus programme can be composed of only a hundred.

Hence the extreme difficulty in identifying it right away; in some cases it is impossible to identify them if they have been accurately prepared.

The spreading of such "inconveniences" to States cannot fail to please revolutionaries, as it demonstrates that even the computerised systems of social control are not as invulnerable as people would have them be after all. These forms of sabotage are a very good arm of attack on the technological apparatus of capital and the State. Not so much in the material sense but because they help us to free ourselves from that magical spellbound respect that we all have for these sophisticated electronic gadgets.

Without doubt any revolutionary prospect today also bases itself on the need to destroy the apparatus of dominion through the deepening

of a knowledge of the arms which the class enemy has at its disposal.

Austerity

## Rural Violence

*Even in the most remote parts of the country a struggle against the effects of post-industrial capitalism is taking place. Boredom and denial of human dignity are becoming the roots of a struggle that was motivated by poverty and hunger in the past.*

*Rural Areas have never offered much to proletarians who live in them and this has often resulted in Saturday night activity in the form of drunken brawls outside pubs.*

*This situation is now spreading and changing in content. Most often it is now police and class enemies who are the object of attack, either directly or as a result of their intervening in gang fights. A look at only a few examples violence in rural areas in the first two weeks of August show how boredom and deprivation of human dignity are becoming the causes of widespread social struggles in advanced capitalist countries, where hunger and poverty were motives in the past.*

The NUR went on strike due to disturbances on late Faversham to Dover trains. Kilmerton, in Avon, a tiny rural village which had known idyllic peace until recently, has now become the scenario for regular incursions of drunken young people from the neighbouring mining towns of Radstock and Midsomer Norton. The local Lord Hylton had his car stolen by joyriders and two other parked cars were rammed. One of the newly self-appointed neighbourhood watchers who are now patrolling the village has been attacked.

One person was killed in a gang fight in Newmarket. There was a pitched battle with police in the market place of Shifnal near Telford. Extra police were drafted in. More than 100 young people were involved in the riot, and petrol bombs were thrown.

Fighting spread through the streets of Oswestry, Shropshire when rival gangs clashed.

There were 17 arrests in one evening in Newquay, Cornwall when tourists and local people fought running battles with police.

In Poole, Dorset, 5 people ended up in hospital and 2 were arrested after wooden benches had been ripped up from the street and hurled through shop windows. 7 people were arrested for street violence in Stratford-on-Avon. 4 police were injured during street fighting involving more than 100 people in Pentre, Mid Glamorgan. In Barry, South Glamorgan there were running battles along the sea front where rocks, pick-axe handles and legs from deck chairs were used.

In sea-side resorts such as Bournemouth, illuminations light bulbs are smashed on an average of 150 each night, and deck chairs are destroyed.

The frustration and anger that is being expressed all over the country, is a logical response to the new structure of capital.

demonstrations, but which are organised insurrectionally, supported by small actions of attack against the capitalist structures that are responsible for the present situation of exploitation and genocide at world level.

We think it could be useful to reflect for a moment on the different attitudes that are held towards such actions beyond any question of method or political consideration.

No matter how much we go into things theoretically, phantoms remain within all of us. One of these is other people's property.

Others are: people's lives, God, good manners, sex, tolerance of other's opinions, etc. Sticking to our subject: **we are all against private property, but as soon as we stretch out a hand to attack it, an alarm bell rings inside us.**

Centuries of moral conditioning set into action without our realising it, with two results: on the one hand there is the thrill of the forbidden leading many comrades to carry out stupid little thefts that often go beyond immediate and unavoidable needs – and on the other the discomfort of behaving "immorally."

Putting the thrill aside, which I am not interested in and which I willingly leave to those who like to amuse themselves with such things, I want to take a look at the discomfort.

The fact is, **we have all been reduced to the animal state of the "herd."** The moral that we all share (all of us, even those who in theory do not) is "altruistic." It is respectable, egalitarian, and levelling.

The territories of this morality have yet to be explored. How many comrades assert free love for example, yet would recoil at the sight of their own sister's nakedness? Certainly not just a few.

And when we justify our attack on private property to ourselves – and to the tribunal of history – saying it is right that the expropriators be expropriated, we are prisoners of a kind of slavery, the moral one, to be exact. We are confirming the "eternal" validity of our past bosses, leaving others to judge whether those into whose hands we have consigned what has been taken from us personally should be considered expropriators or not.

So, from one justification to another, we end up building a church, almost without realising

## The Moral Split

*Is it possible to attack the structures of dominion without coming up against false problems of conscience as so often happens? The only possible ethical judgement is the class category no anarchist is against revolutionary action on principle but does not always put that into practice the reason might be this "moral split."*

In order for an action to be carried out it is not enough for it simply to be considered "right." Other elements intervene, some of which, like the underlying moral consideration, have nothing to do with whether the action is valid or not. This is quite evident in the difficulty comrades have in carrying out actions which in themselves have nothing exceptional about them.

A moral obstacle intervenes, leading to a real ethical "split" with consequences that are not easily predictable.

For example, **we have been pointing out the uselessness of the huge peaceful mass demonstrations** for some time now. Instead we propose demonstrations that are still mass

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it. I say "almost," because basically we are aware of it, but it scares us.

To take other people's property from them has a social significance. It constitutes rebellion and, precisely because of this, the property owners must clearly be seen as part of the property-owning class, not simply people who possess something.

We are not aesthetes of nihilist action who do not see a difference between taking from the former and taking money from the beggar's plate.

**The act of expropriation means something precisely in its present class context**, not because of the "wrong" way that those we intend to expropriate have acted in the past. If that were our only point of reference then the capitalist who pays union wages and looks after his workers, sells at reasonable prices, etc, would be excluded from the legitimacy of expropriation. Why should we concern ourselves with such questions?

If we take for example a firm that supplies arms to South Africa or which finances the racist regime in Israel, designs nuclear power stations or makes electronic devices with which to "improve" traditional arms, the accent is not so much on their specific responsibility when we attack them, so much as their belonging to the class of exploiters.

Specific responsibility only involves the strategic and political choice. The sole element for having made the ethical decision is the element of class. To realise this helps us reach some clarity. The moral foundation for an action is the difference between classes, a belonging to one or other of two irremediably opposed components of society, and whose solution will only come through the destruction of one or other of the two.

The political and strategic foundations, on the other hand, require a series of considerations that can be contradictory. All the objectives listed above concern this latter aspect, and have nothing to do with the underlying moral justification.

**But without our realising it, it is in the field of moral decision that many of us find obstacles.** Basically, the peaceful mass demonstration, however demonstrative of our

intentions "against", was something different. Even the very violent clashes with the police were something different. There was an intermediate reality between ourselves and the "enemy," something that protected our moral alibi. We felt sure of being "right" even when we adopted positions (still in the area of democratic dissent) that were not shared by the mass of demonstrators. Even when we smashed a few windows things remained in such a way that we were able to accommodate them.

Things are different when we act on our own, or with other comrades who could never give us a psychological cover of the kind we get so easily from within the "mass." It is now individuals who determine to attack the institution.

We either attack or recede. We either accept the class logic of the clash as an irreducible counterposition that has no solution, or we move backwards towards negotiation and linguistic and moral deception.

**If we reach out and attack other people's property—or something else, but always belonging to the class enemy—we must accept full responsibility for it without having to find justification in the presumed level of the collective situation as a whole.** We cannot put off moral judgement on the need to attack and strike the enemy until we have consulted those who all together combine to determine the "collective situation." I shall explain better. I am not against the mass work of counterinformation and the preparation for intermediate struggles that are also necessary in a situation of exploitation and misery. What I am against is the symbolic (exclusively symbolic) course these struggles take. They should be aimed at obtaining results, even partial ones, but results that are immediate and visible, always with the premiss that the insurrectional method—based on the refusal of the delegate, on autonomy, permanent conflictuality, and self-managed base structures—is used.

What I do not agree with is that one must stop there, or even before that point as some would have it, at the level of simple counterinformation and denunciation, moreover orchestrated by the deadlines provided by the repression.

It is possible, no, necessary, to do something

else, and that something has to be done now, in the present phase of violent and speedy restructuring. It seems to me that this can be done in the direct attack on small objectives that indicate the class enemy, objectives that are quite visible in the social territory, and when they are not visible the work of counterinformation can make them so with very little effort.

I do not think that there can be any anarchist comrades who are against this practice, at least in principle. There can be those (and there are) who say that they are against it, based on an evaluation of the present political and social situation because they do not see any constructive mass outlet, and I can understand this. But there should not be a condemnation of those actions on principle.

The fact is that **those who take distance from these actions are far fewer than those who support them but do not put them into practice**. How can that be explained? I think it can be explained precisely by this "moral split" that going beyond the threshold of others' "rights" takes us into, particularly in the case of comrades like myself who were educated to say "thank-you" and "sorry" at the slightest push.

We often speak of liberating our feelings. We often speak of refusing the ideals that were transmitted from the bourgeoisie in their moment of triumph and imposed upon us.

Basically what we are talking about is the real satisfaction of our needs, which are not only the so-called primary needs of simple physical survival.

Well, I think that words are not enough for this beautiful project. When it stayed firmly within the old concept of class struggle that was based on the desire to "re-appropriate" what had unjustly been taken from us (the product of our labour), we were able to "talk" (even if even then we didn't get very far) of needs, equality, communism, and even anarchy. Today, now that this phase of simple reappropriation has slowly been modified under capital itself, we cannot have recourse to the same words and the same concepts.

The time of words is slowly coming to an end. And we realise more each day that we are tragically behind, closed within a ghetto, arguing about things that are no longer of

any real revolutionary interest, while people are rapidly moving towards other meanings and other perspectives, with Power slyly and effectively urging them on.

The enormous task of liberation from ethics, this great weight that in its time was built in the laboratories of capitalism and smuggled into the ranks of the exploited, has hardly begun.

Alfredo M. Bonanno

## Survival Gathering Toronto July 1-4, 1988

A Survival Gathering was held in Toronto, Canada. About 800 comrades participated over the four days, most of them from Canada and the United States.

Despite the efforts of the Toronto comrades, sending out numerous leaflets and literature urging groups to send at least one person, assuring them hospitality when they arrived, very few comrades from Britain or the rest of Europe were present.

Many of the comrades who were there had covered just as great, if not greater, distances in order to participate in what turned out to be an intensive and productive three days. Perhaps the absence of people from this side of the Atlantic was more due to a psychological distance than a real one. Perhaps, for some at least, it was a political one.

In our opinion it is important for comrades to make the effort to meet and confront each other, and to know situations other than those on our own doorsteps. Internationalism is a fundamental part of anarchism, without which there can be no real perspective of social revolution in one specific reality.

Certainly, the comrades who hosted the Gathering had worked for months to make it possible for this to happen in Toronto. All comrades who arrived had somewhere to sleep. All had good food to eat for the whole duration of the Gathering, regardless of whether they could contribute to the cost or not. This Gargantuan undertaking by the organisers

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had a considerable effect on the conditions of the meeting itself. It was possible to dedicate the whole time to discussion and all the other exchanges of such a unique occasion to meet comrades from so many different realities. It was also a chance to meet in person many comrades whom one had known only through correspondence until then.

The self-sufficiency of the Gathering also meant that media attempts to scare the good people of Toronto with horror stories before the event remained a ridiculous farce. Nor were faint hearts subjected to scenes of long-haired anarchists and punks crowding the city's cafes in the fruitless attempt to find vegetable patties in the place of hamburgers.

This brings to mind another anarchist gathering which took place a few years ago in Venice, and which, through the photograph album that was produced following it, was apparently a source of inspiration to some of the Toronto comrades. That was a different situation indeed. In fact, in Venice there were two gatherings: the official one that was organised by the comrades of *Rivista A* in Milan, with its conference hall and worthy speakers with their briefcases and hotel room keys (and their passive audience members who were in a more or less similar position). Then there was the unofficial meeting, which consisted of the many punks and other young comrades who had come from all over Europe. Many had hitchhiked to get there and did not have the money to frequent cafes and bars to benefit from their toilet facilities. Some ended up peeing in the canals of Venice, to the consternation of the local people, council, and press. Young comrades roaming the streets after curfew were threatened by the organisers. The following day there was almost a rebellion amongst comrades.

#### *Organisation*

Compared to this situation where two distinct and separate entities passed each other by (when they were not in conflict) in Venice, the Toronto Gathering maintained a homogeneity throughout the whole four days. There was obviously contrast within that homogeneity, but never a situation where one part of the

comrades was excluded from what the other was doing. This can be explained by the presence of two factors: one, that the *official* North American (and European) movement had abstained from participation; two, the structure of the Gathering itself. This was such that comrades coming from outside found themselves in a condition to participate in not only the discussions of their choice, but also in the management of the Gathering itself: defence, bookstalls, decisions concerning the media (it was unanimously decided to keep them out), food distribution, etc. Instead of conference tables and microphones there was an informal structure of workshops which enabled comrades, even in such a great number, to find a dimension in which they could participate directly. There were 63 workshops in two days, and ample space in which to hold them. The comrades had the use of a university building and a community centre for the weekend. They had also printed 1,500 pamphlets, laying out the whole programme of workshops, orientation in the city, evening gigs, etc. Workshop subjects ranged from technology to feminism to the middle east, to national liberation, to the anarchist movement in Greece and much more. It is impossible, for reasons of space, to go into any of these here. Discussions were often disjointed due to the numbers of people participating in them, sometimes speaking in rotation rather than discursively. In any case, few could have been under the illusion that something specific could come from the workshops themselves. They were more a filtering process that made it possible to get to know the comrades in whom one recognised most affinity. It was then possible to meet and talk in smaller groups. This, in my opinion, is what the Gathering succeeded in doing: created an informal structure within which it was possible to gain an understanding of some of the positions and ideas of those present. From there onwards it was up to us.

#### *A Few Words on the Movement*

It would be presumptuous to think one could give an account of the anarchist movement in North America after such a short stay. A few considerations can be made, however. Beyond

the various publications that we are all familiar with, there is a feeling of a young movement that is still in embryo. It is a movement that is basically informal, apart from some syndicalist or industrially-oriented groups. This movement breathes a desire for freedom, despises the social reality of the American Dream. It feels close to the native people of the north American continent, and some comrades are involved in the struggles of the latter against cultural and physical annihilation.

Other comrades project a strong sense of guilt towards the people of the continents from which the western world extracts its trashy wealth. Many address themselves towards the ecological question, sometimes through alternative projects in isolated attempts to redress the ecological holocaust of the multinationals. Many are isolated by vast distances which it is hard for we Europeans even to imagine. The predominant form of organisation is that of groups that could loosely be called affinity groups. But one element seemed to be lacking: a revolutionary projectuality, an analysis and methodology leading towards a clear class perspective in the struggle against capitalism as a whole. This is understandable from a country where capital is unevenly distributed between extremes of advanced levels of post-industrialism and backward areas. There seemed to be a lack of projectuality and political awareness, perhaps due to the tendency of the movement to look for an alternative life-style approach to the refusal of capital.

One proposal did come forth, however, like a brick. It was the third day of the Gathering, which had now moved away from the university and community centre to a leafy park. Comrades were assembled to discuss future meetings and to exchange contact addresses. Out of the blue, a two or three page long document was produced proposing that a highly structured national organisation be formed. The document contained detailed indications as to how meetings should be held, decisions be made, members be expelled, etc, similar to the kind of papers that circulate among the anarchist communist comrades. It was not a proposal for struggle, but rather,

it seemed, an attempt to capture a captive audience. Strangely archaic and out of context in such a situation that had been prepared and had functioned informally (one might say almost to perfection). No one was disposed to being shackled in this way and after some time a group of comrades proposed to publish the document for debate within the movement.

Certainly one left feeling a sense of a great potential in a part of the North American movement, a potential that lacks some of the instruments necessary for it to come to the fore concretely in the struggle. And the same movement is looking towards Europe for some of its indications.

To sum up, the Survival Gathering was an intensely worthwhile experience that, in our case at least, will lead to a far closer contact with the comrades and struggle in North America. In future events of the kind (one is being planned for San Francisco next year), it would be useful and productive to have more analysis, perhaps comrades could write something brief on the subjects that interest them. This will only be possible if the post-gathering period addresses itself towards the reality of the struggle. Events such as conferences and the Gathering in question are important instruments in the movement, but that is all they are.

Jean Weir

## Actions

### High-Voltage Pylon Sabotaged

A high-voltage electricity pylon in Vallo di Caluso, about half a mile from the Chivasso motorway was sabotaged on the night of September 17, obliging the ENEL to cut off electricity supply for a number of hours.

The action was claimed in a communique to the press agency Ansa: *"we claim responsibility for the sabotage to the ENEL pylon no 16 and greet the bosses of exploitation and destruction, their devastating plants and projects, their representing nuclear power in another disguise."* Signed, *figli della terra* (children of the earth).

Immediately the national ecology association *Amici della terra* (Friends of the earth) issued a dry communique dissociating

themselves from the action.

The line attacked has been the object of demonstrations by ecologists in the past, limiting themselves to banners and slogans.

### **Master of the Hounds Attacked**

Following the liberation by animal rights activists of thousands of minks, leaving them to run wild in the countryside in the south of England, a new sport, mink hunting, has emerged.

Joint master of the Kent and Sussex Hounds, Michael Errey, was awakened by the sound of an explosion and looked out to find his van wrecked, and other unexploded devices under his two cars. They consisted of two litre bottles filled with petrol, an aerosol can of lighter fuel, and a mixture of sugar and weed killer. The devices were fixed under the vehicles and connected by a narrow stream of petrol.

### **The IRA Against the British Army**

The IRA has carried out a series of attacks against the British army both in Ireland and elsewhere since the assassination of their three militants in Gibraltar.

The most spectacular was that in Armagh where a car bomb blew up a lorry full of British soldiers: 8 dead, 30 wounded.

An interesting debate is taking place within the IRA concerning the effectiveness of such actions, the objectives to strike, and a political evaluation of these objectives. The need to avoid striking civilians, even those involved in the support structures of the occupying army, or participants in the armed protestant defence groups is being put forward. One position is that it is always better to strike British soldiers from the point of view of propaganda, especially those stationed outside Ireland, either in England or on the continent.

However, to continue to see the conflict in course as one that is a purely nationalist one is a serious if convenient mistake. It is not just a question of a people united against an invading enemy. A deep class division also cuts across Irish society. The protestants occupy the middle and upper strata and do not want to lose their privileges, as would come about in the case of an end to colonial rule. Those who have little

to lose have participated on occasions in social struggles with catholic exploited.

Then there is so-called Free Ireland. The most fascist and oppressive sive State in Europe. It supports the IRA indirectly, but does not approve of the extremism of Sinn Fein, and even less so of the more radical components of the IRA itself.

Alongside the much publicised attacks on British soldiers by the IRA, there is a social situation that is talked about little by the media. Mass rioting takes place regularly in Northern Ireland. Street barricades, burning buses, molotovs against police, etc, are common, and many of those participating are very young.

History has shown that British colonialism does not retreat until it has its back against the wall. Its time in Ireland could soon be up.

### **Bombs Attack Against Farmoplant**

In the middle of August the Farmoplant industry in Massa Carrara, Italy, infamous for having polluted the area and the object of mass demonstrations locally, was attacked with a bomb. The explosion, which damaged the surrounding wall, took place about 200 metres away from the factory's incineration plant.

### **Experia**

*a disused cinema in Catania is squatted and becomes the first self-managed social centre in Sicily – until the mafia intervene*

Catania is a typical Sicilian town. Decades of mafia-style management of the local power structure. Huge piles of rubbish lie in most streets. Many of the poorest areas suffer a perennial lack of water, which with the 40 degrees of most summer days, becomes real discomfort, almost torture. Drug-taking is on the increase, unemployment is the norm.

This is the context of a large southern Italian city that combines the negative points of the metropolis with those of a small village. A city which at times seems to wake up and at others to succumb to a situation that seems as though

it will never change.

In this social context, on June 18, 1988, came about the squatting of the ex-cinema Esperia, renamed Experia.

There are a few dozen self managed Italy today. They are dispersed over the national territory, have moved away from their original metropolitan context and are finally reaching the provinces.

These places are born through direct action, because of the practical necessities of those who take them over, and generally they intervene practically and directly on the living areas and towns where they exist.

The struggle to take them over is usually carried out by a promoting committee of heterogenous composition, often including inhabitants of the area where the centre grows, and where the public administration is reduced to nil. Often the buildings squatted are structures that the local, regional, and provincial councils have left unused and empty.

In cities like Milan, Rome, and Turin, where social divisions are more evident, the battle for self-managed Social Centres has been waged with students, unemployed, underemployed, and homeless people. They act on the social situation, therefore, and constitute the most effective response to this particular moment of struggle, to social disintegration and solitude, especially among the young and old.

These are liberated spaces where recreational activity takes place. There are also debates, conferences, seminars, open to all, where the problems inherent to the local areas are discussed. The problem of isolation is faced and that of the real needs of association of those who benefit from them.

But not only that. There are also studios for musicians who are struggling against record market speculation. They produce and distribute their own products in open contrast to the iron rules of the commodity market. Parties and concerts are held, often for free. There are darkrooms, projection rooms, laboratories, and in some places, centres for disintoxication of drug addicts. Nothing to do with the ghettos described by the media to justify violent evictions by the police. The real ghetto is what they force us to live in every day.

10, 100, 1000 occupations  
a squatter at Experia Self-managed Social Centre

### **In a Town Where Everything Has Been Denied, The Ex-Cinema Experia Has Been Squatted**

You, like us, are living in a city devastated by the bad use of public structures, a ghetto city with a total lack of social services because of a situation that is in the hands of corrupt and absent political parties.

Even the national press talk about the unlivable conditions in Catania: the dramatic problem of juvenile delinquence, unemployment, drugs, lack of housing. There is no answer to these problems. There never has been. To reinforce police repression, as though this ever alleviated anything, is the only measure they have found to deal with the deeper lacerations.

The dominant culture rests and reinforces itself on this palliative. It steals vital space from young people and relegates us into paying ghettos: discos, bars, beer cellars in the best of cases, or into the self-destructive ones of the street, drug addiction, or mugging.

We've had enough! We are no longer willing to see ourselves massified and nullified in this way, sacrificed on the altar of uninvolvement and entertainment imposed by shopkeepers, political parties, priests and youth associations.

It is time to unmask the activities aimed at perpetuating this way of life where there is no room for our needs, no space for a different kind of social life that is not based on commerce. This need is as elementary as it is inconvenient, because it undermines the basis of apathy on which they want to reduce us to silence.

We cannot provide any magical solutions to alleviate this state of affairs either, but we believe we must begin along a road that takes us away from the abyss of the dominant culture.

We propose the creation of a Self-managed Social Centre, where the young can find possibilities of real expression, without any political padrinos pulling the strings. We propose spontaneous adhesion and involvement in creating models of life that are

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finally different, free and liberatory.

An antagonist space where everyone can take part, where we can meet, talk, make theatre, music, dance, show videos, create work cooperatives—without inscriptions, time-keeping, and above all WITHOUT SPENDING A PENNY!

A space in which to begin a common road to freedom, beyond the hierarchical logic and delegation that has been inculcated into all of us, so that we can open our eyes and finally find our lives in our own hands.

Self-managed Social Centre EXPERIA

### Press Communique

The ex-Cinema ESPERIA in via Plebiscito has been squatted today with the aim of turning it into a SELF-MANAGED SOCIAL CENTRE.

This building, like so many others of public ownership in Catania, had been left to rot. Unused, neglected by the local administration, it had become a ghetto for drug addicts.

We have taken over this space against the logic of local institutions which have never taken any interest in the young, pushing them to emargination, alienation and drugs. We have taken it over so that it can become a place of encounter and free expression in Catania. We consider, moreover, that such a practice is socially legitimate, and that only the law defines it illegal.

We have therefore created a Self-managed Social Centre as somewhere to go in the evenings, to have parties, concerts, create music, photography, graphics, ceramics laboratories.

The activity of the Social Centre—completely free-will begin today with an assembly/debate on the problem of social space in Catania.

It will take place at 8pm, followed by a party/concert where many groups will be playing.

Self-managed social centre EXPERIA

### The Mafia Attack Ex-Cinema Experia

There is an old saying "If the police don't get you, the Mafia will."

That in fact is what happened in Catania. Not that the Centre had escaped from the police entirely. So much so that one of the people who frequented it was severely beaten by the latter.

But things stopped there.

The mafia, on the other hand, went further.

There have been four attacks on the Social Centre since the day it was squatted on June 18 this year. At the end of July one of the doors leading from the outside arena to the building was smashed open and a device made up to look like a bomb was left in the bar area. At first not much importance was attached to this. It seemed just a rather macabre joke.

On the night of July 31 the main door was set aflame. The fire brigade and the police forensic department intervened. The door was badly damaged but still functioned.

On the night of August there was a break-in next door to the Centre which resulted in police coming into the Centre, and taking two people away, one of whom was beaten up.

At about 6pm on Sunday, August 28 there was another attack, just before the Centre was due to open. The padlock on the door to the arena was forced, and the room housing the electric meters was set fire to. The fire brigade return.

The electrical system was put out of action.

Counter-information about these attacks was widely distributed throughout the city on each of these occasions; and after the last attack a public meeting was held in the Social Centre. The decision not to give in to this intimidation was confirmed, and it was decided to carry on with the work that the Centre was doing.

The next day, Sunday, September 4, at about 3pm, another attack took place. The large entrance hall was rationally set fire to through the use of furniture, photographic displays, drawings done by local children, and anything else that could be found in the building that was inflammable. The result of this was that the building has had to be abandoned as it has become unsafe.

Big interests lie behind these actions. In the past few months, starting from the day of the occupation, a whole series of articles have appeared in the local newspaper *La Sicilia*, speaking of the restructuring of this area. This involves huge financial interests for the well known local mafia construction companies, and also for the Christian Democrat party who have their eyes on the many old buildings in the area.

The attacks on the Experia should therefore be seen in the light of the old idea of a mafiosa management of a city where any attempt that is made towards evolution and growth is immediately squashed with recourse to the old methods of the mafia.

It is necessary to respond in a clear and coherent way, and above all not to be intimidated in order to continue and carry forward the struggle for the liberation of the territory and the city.

Experia, self-managed social centre

## More Actions

### Anti-Yuppie Demo in New York

A street battle worthy of the Bronx or Harlem broke out in a leafy park in a residential area of New York at the beginning of August.

The Lower East Side of Manhattan has been the home of many artists, anarchists and punks for a considerable number of years where they have been actively involved in social struggles in the area. Now the Losida, as it is has been named, is becoming a point of vested interest for New York yuppies willing to pay up to a million dollars for a luxury condominium.

The new residents complained to police about the noise coming regularly from the local Tompkins Park which is a space used regularly by comrades in the hot summer New York nights. A curfew was imposed for 1 am. A protest march took place on August 10. It was charged by mounted officers followed by baton-wielding riot cops.

What ensued turned out to be the heaviest street battle New York has seen in years. The curfew has now been lifted.

### A Hammer to the Steps of the Courts in Trento

In Trento, Italy, a man confined to a wheelchair destroyed the steps leading to the Courtchambers with a hammer. He had just been sentenced to pay a fine of 1,000 lire (about 40 pounds) for having destroyed the steps up to the city's main post office in the same way. The sentence had been pronounced in his absence as the accused had refused to enter the court as there was no

wheelchair ramp.

### The Struggle Against the Poll Tax in Scotland

Edinburgh Tax office telephones were inundated with calls following the distribution of a leaflet in the town stating that, for Poll Tax purposes a urine sample was required from all citizens.

The Poll tax is due to be introduced in Scotland next April, and canvassing has already been done for the purposes of compiling a register of all those eligible to pay. Anarchist comrades are active in both Edinburgh and Glasgow in the struggle against the Poll Tax. Their objective is a collective refusal to pay the tax.

There are already 23 antipoll tax groups in Edinburgh, and 31 in Glasgow. These community-based groups are brought together in city-wide federations. Many have street coordinators and/or committees.

They distribute leaflets and talk to people door to door. The false positions of the Labour Party and the SNP are denounced, and the formation of self-managed groups is continuing.

In one street in Ruchazie, Glasgow, residents have returned all their registration cards together, blank, to the Registration Office. In Dunterlie, Barrhead Tenants Association members dumped the area's poll tax forms—still blank—at the Paisley Registration Office.

In Pollockshields, Glasgow, a poll tax canvasser was attacked and a number of poll tax registration officers have resigned due to widespread hostility. Snoopers have needed police protection.

## Poland: the Role of Solidarnosc

*The role of Solidarnosc in recuperating and extinguishing the struggle in Poland has become clear over the past few weeks. Any illusions on the use of the trade union structure today, even against a communist dictatorship, can now be dispelled.*

Anyone who might have been in any doubt about Solidarnosc until now can take a look at recent events. Those who support the

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"revolutionary" union can feel satisfied. All the hotbeds of real revolt, all attempts to put a dictatorial and oppressive regime in crisis, and all the stimulus towards immediate change instead of promises have been put to rest.

Even some anarchist comrades persist in defending Solidarnosc, pointing out that there are anarchists in the union—as though the presence of anarchists in any power structure could transform it into the golden bough.

Certainly, in a context such as the Polish one which is characterised by incredible poverty compared to western countries, the syndicalist myth can still assemble people. But it does not take long for this perspective of struggle to come to the fore in all its force.

The union, no matter how one looks at it, is always an element of order that puts a brake on the real movement. One of the Solidarnosc counsellors declared following Walesa's intervention and mediation

—the most difficult of his whole career—that the young Polish workers are no longer under the control of the Party or even the church and Solidarnosc. The conclusion of this union adviser was that if there are no economic improvements soon, it will be impossible to control not only the young, but perhaps all of the Polish workers.

The government representative expressed his views on the unifying role of the Polish church during the strikes: the bishops and cardinals had intervened directly to correct some of the worse acts of repression that might have

sparked off a spiral of rebellion.

But what is most significant in terms of the divergence between the real interests of the base and the leaders' intentions, is the latters' claim to get government recognition for Solidarnosc. This undeniably political fact is aimed at a radical transformation of the power structure in Poland, but means nothing more than a perspective of democratising political relations. Although there would obviously be some positive aspects to such a process, certainly better than the atrocities of a dictatorial communist regime, we must not forget that something quite different could come from the rebellion of the Polish workers. In the first place a violent and immediate transformation of those relations of power, followed by a radical upheaval, a revolutionary situation.

Undoubtedly a generalised revolt in Poland would put at risk not only that country's political and social order, but also that of the whole area of real socialism, which cannot afford to run such a risk in a delicate moment such as the present.

However, a vast and extended insurrection fed by the rage of those who have no other possibility of survival, could eliminate any mediating structure such as Solidarnosc or the church, leaving State power bare before its responsibilities.

Solidarnosc, arm in arm with the church, bears great responsibility in preventing this from coming about.



Issue 6  
September 1989

## Editorial

Anarchists and revolutionaries are such not because they say they are, or write articles and programmes ending with slogans or symbols of anarchism. They are such because they *want* to do something against oppression, ie they want to denounce and attack repressive systems and all those who hold them together.

To fully understand this simple statement we must take a step further. Before attacking it is necessary to know whom and what to attack and to *understand* why to attack.

Otherwise one ends up acting like a mad bull charging about wildly, which gets slain sooner or later.

What can we do in order to know whom and what to attack? Simply inform ourselves. Capital and the State are transforming themselves rapidly. With developments in electronics a vast restructuring is taking place in production and control. The huge industrial complexes are now spreading over the whole social territory, linked together by electronics and telematic cables. The whole planet will soon be covered in a thick network of communications that are at the basis of the present system of production, consequently also present day exploitation. So we *know* what and whom to attack.

What can we do to understand *why* to attack? This is quite simple. The industry of the past could have been conquered by the revolution and put to peaceful productive use. Today's industry is mainly electronically operated by people who have no real operative knowledge. It will never be usable for social good except in a minimal way. The huge electronic communications systems on which present-day production-repression is based will certainly never be usable, that is why it is necessary right away to begin to attack and destroy it even in the proportions that are fitting to our capacity to attack at the present time.

Between moving and staying still, we prefer to move. The restructuring that has reinforced capital's capacity to produce has also opened new cracks. The enormous communications network that runs through the territory of every advanced industrial nation is certainly one of those cracks.

We must strike inside this. With small actions—not big military operations that are beyond our material possibility—and outside the logic of the new capital. It is precisely small destructive actions, sabotage spread over the whole territory, that is the most fitting arm with which to fight the class enemy today.

## A False Problem

The long sequence of scandals, intrigues, tales of corruption and murder on assignment carried out in the shadows of the White House has broken the golden gloss of honesty that adorned the official image of the American political class, is today the object of alarmist media reporting on the crime levels in the city of Washington.

We find that politicians have nothing against shooting up massive doses of heroin or sniffing cocaine between approving a prototype for a new nuclear weapon or new developments in the laboratories of bacteriological warfare, caught up in their delirious dream of dominating the world, and sharing it of course with the new bureaucrats in the Kremlin.

Washington now finds itself alongside Detroit at the top of the American crime hit parade and drugs are being blamed for the drastic increase in murders in this artificial capital set aside as the country's main political centre. Everyone there makes use of them—so it seems—from everyday Washington to the ceremonious official one.

But what worries that monument to imbecility, the average American citizen, is that they are being ruled by a political class that is corrupt and drug addicted, therefore open to blackmail by the big supernational drug organisations.

Now, supported by the new clean president Bush, the media are preparing the great campaign—the farce—against the drugs invasion of American society.

The US government is treating the phenomenon as a state of emergency, dramatising the problem and pushing people to mobilise more than at election times in the logic of "civil defence" used during the war to keep the population active and far from going into the problem in depth. The public might become aware of the underlying global situation that could lead to a new consciousness and to social rebellion against all forms of dominion both legal and illegal. In the mad witch hunt that has ensued there is a growing consensus towards private policing all over the country, while groups of armed and unarmed vigilantes are being formed, none of whom strike the big dealers, who remain untouched. In Washington many black people from the northeast area of the town have formed such groups, considering police measures to be inadequate.

This new wave of morality that is sweeping America is the extension of an authoritarian and strongly repressive mentality that has struck the population emotively. It is aimed at soldering class differences and developing an interclassist civic awareness and social involvement aimed at moulding a consensual stupefied mass, drugged into a dependence on power. The next step, a national war against the drug-producing countries, is a logical one along this road of creating internal consensus towards a Noble War, blinding the mass towards their own territory, their own minds becoming increasingly militarised by capital.

The problem therefore is not drugs, but the State, capital, and the mafia, who are creating new relationships at the cost of proletarianised individuals, turning their bodies into goods as a source of profit and falsifying the causes of social discomfort, packaging them and selling them off in the social consensus market to be used and discarded.

Although it is up to individuals to decide for themselves whether they want to take drugs or not, it is obvious that the drug market today is yet another arm in the hands of capital, therefore something to be attacked and destroyed along with the rest. This struggle cannot be separated from the attack on the whole arsenal of capital: the media, the political parties, the death factories, and all the other structures of post-

industrial capital. For us there is no difference between legal and illegal capitalist crime.

## The Pylons of Death Come Crumbling Down

The energy source is the basis of all industry: without power, nothing functions. Attacks on pylons are therefore a safe and effective way of damaging deadly industries and putting a halt to their production. By attacking the energy supply, the danger of releasing poisonous fumes, deadly bacteria or who knows what other disasters that threaten us every day by the very presence of these plants, is avoided.

In recent weeks, in Italy, there has been an intensification of this activity. The multinationals are feeling the effect. The local people, involved for years in all kinds of struggle to have deadly plants closed, are finding out that there are effective ways of stopping them: by sabotaging the pylons.

Although pylons can be sabotaged with elementary means available to all (a few hacksaws), the recent attacks have been carried out by both sawing and dynamite charges.

On September 7 an explosive device blew up an Enel (State electricity company) pylon at Calambrone, near the Navicelli canal. On September 10, an explosive charge struck a 60-metre-high 220,000 voltage pylon. The action was immediately condemned by the official environmentalist movement.

In the same week, on September 13, a second pylon was "blown down." It belonged to the Montedison line carrying electricity to Cesano Maderno and striking the Valchiavenna.

In Novate Mezzola a Sondel pylon was blown (Falck electricity company), and further down the valley along the same line, supplying 130,000 volts for the steel works nearby, was also sabotaged. Police and press are speaking of "ecological terrorists." We know that the real terrorists are those who draw the profits from these deadly industries, and those who protect them.

## Anarchists Against Apartheid

*In South Africa the killings continue.*

The super-exploited black workers continue to be humiliated and abused as a lucrative source of profit for the multinationals. In one week, during the general strike before the elections, 3,600 workers were sacked by Toyota, Japan's highest earning multinational. Volkswagen and Goodyear immediately followed their example. On the night before the elections at least 23 people were killed. Some spoke of 60 deaths. Among them were old people and children.

At the same time apartheid is trying to improve its image while maintaining its old privileges. Through its "new man" De Klerk, an attempt will be made to paint a layer of political whitewash over the situation, negotiating with some of the aspiring leaders of a mass social rebellion. As in all situations of social upheaval, the situation covers a wide spectrum and includes elements who are also out to get their slice of power or profit.

The aim of the reform policy is to offer this reality a few crumbs in order to placate public indignation and prepare the way for a slightly less offensive method of exploitation, forced by the growing wave of attacks on the companies who favour its unbeatable offers on the world labour market.

For years now there have been protests against the crimes of apartheid, many of them taking the form of huge demonstrations, petitions, pickets of consulates, boycotts, etc; all to no avail. But there is a growing qualitative change in the struggle against apartheid which has been developing recently in northern Europe, using direct means.

On Friday 8 September 200 anarchist comrades broke into and devastated the South African consulate in Copenhagen. Once inside the place they set fire to documents, furniture, and stationery in the newly-restored and refurnished fortress. When the police arrived on the scene they were met with a thick hail of stones and had to retreat. Within five minutes the group had disappeared. The action immediately qualitatively distinguished itself from the

regular ineffective pickets and sit-ins carried out in the western world against apartheid. It accomplished what demonstrations of tens of thousands of people have failed to do: to effectively, not symbolically, attack one of the power structures of apartheid, maximising damage to it, and resisting police intervention.

The attack in Copenhagen showed without half terms that neither apartheid nor its structures are symbolic, and that they should be confronted with real moments of well-planned attack. This attack is the fruit of a growing quality in the struggle against apartheid in northern Europe that has been taking place in countries such as Denmark, Holland, and Sweden over the past five years. It started off from a few small actions, simple, easily accomplished and easily repeatable, against the multinationals, mainly Shell. From this an awareness has developed that the struggle against apartheid is against exploitation and genocide at a planetary level, and can strike effectively anywhere with equal effectiveness, be it an isolated village in northern Europe or a demonstration in a South African ghetto.

There is a growing awareness that apartheid is not confined to South Africa, but that it expresses itself all over the world in forms that appear to be different but are essentially the same: the inclusion or exclusion from a whole system that can no longer be defined by simple electoral rights but cut deep into the social and cultural tissue of peoples.

Added to this there is the new European apartheid of thousands of black immigrants from the African continent who have no so-called civil rights, having entered Europe illegally through the state's deliberate strategy of toleratance. Subject to continued racist attacks, a favourite of the harangues of right-wing politicians, the former are victims of a deliberate strategy of demographic readjustment to compensate for the increasing lack of unskilled labour, particularly in the chemical and other deadly industries of Europe.

The attack carried out by the comrades in Denmark is therefore an important step along a new road that is emerging in the struggle with clarity. It is the road of qualitative relations as opposed to quantitative spectacular

mobilisation; clarity of perspective and incisiveness in accomplishing specific actions with the objective of succeeding in carrying out both economic and political sabotage in the perspective of internationalist solidarity and social revolution.

## Ecological Luddism: the Montedison Explodes

The Montedison group, multinational chemical industry giant, has tentacles that spread through numerous sectors: pharmaceutical, textiles, agriculture, energy, biotechnology, etc. The list speaks for itself. Clearly the Montedison group are responsible for a large part of the destruction of the planet by polluting rivers, destroying the environment, polluting the atmosphere, exploiting Third World resources and peoples such as in South Africa (Monteshell), joint ventures in China, etc, and the list could go on indefinitely, and should include its obvious implications in the military field.

For a number of years now there have been continued struggles against some of its most dangerous plants; the ACNA in Cengio, and the Farmoplant in Massa (near Carrara) are the two main centres where long struggles have been in course and which have seen a significant participation of the local people.

Needless to say all the political parties that use environmental issues to their own ends have been present, in particular the Greens who have even gone as far as co-management politics to "reform from within." However, nothing has changed, and the plants continue to pollute and threaten millions of people with the possibility of a disaster that would have devastating effects on a considerable part of northern Europe. Various anarchist groups have also been present in the struggle over the years, working together with the local people in the attempt to have the plants closed down.

On the night of May 28, three bomb attacks were carried out in Milan against the Montedison: their main office in Foro Buonapart in the city centre, the Monteshell offices in via

Londonio (the main offices for Italian Shell interests), and the electricity supply station supplying the Vedril chemical plant in Rho, a town on the outskirts of Milan. In this attack two transformers were blown up near a tank of combustible oil which ignited, resulting in the total disintegration of the energy supply plant. The death factory was obliged to shut down for a month as a result.

Altogether the damage done was immense. Experts spoke of 10 billion lire (about 4 million pounds), which includes loss of production as the factory was closed down for a month and also resulted in another plant in Porta Marghera being closed down as it depended on the former plant for raw materials.

That same night an electricity pylon that was part of the Montedison's own line that supplies energy to the ACNA in Cengio and the Agrimont in San Giuseppe di Cairo—the factory that has poisoned the Bormida valley—was felled by an explosion at its base.

A leaflet reached the Ansa press agency next day: "*Dynamiting death is the greatest joy of life. We have experienced it in striking the Montedison: its headquarters in Foro Buonapart, its energy plant at the Vedril factory in Rho, and its racist sister Shell in via Londonio. We won't stop here. We shall take other pleasures. Fantasy teaches one to be incandescent.*"

The devastating effect was not circumscribed to the death-factory and its offices, but also threw the environmentalists and green movement into a flurry of panic and condemnation: greens, rainbow greens, environmentalist league, etc, showed their true colours by publicly denouncing the attacks, the only actions that have had any real effect on the death factory.

But condemnation did not stop there: even the anarchist movement's Milan "representatives" distinguished themselves by hastily sending a "precision" to the national press, condemning the attacks in a communique signed: Rivista A, Centro Studi Libertari, Volonta, Utopia Bookshop, Anarchia, with the effect of addressing police investigations to other parts of the movement, ie implicitly acting as police informers. The Milan editorial group of *Provocazione* and *Anarchismo* immediately

issued a countercommuniqué in support of the actions.

We of *Insurrection* are also proud to stand up and support these actions and claim them as our own, a part of our heritage as anarchists that constitutes a point of clarity. They not only propagandised the road of direct action and sabotage, but also struck in real, hard economic terms, one of the most deadly structures that capitalism has produced.

They constitute a point of reference, theory in action, for all those in the ghettos of capital, in its prisons, its deserts, its metropoli, that the death machine is vulnerable and can be attacked and destroyed. Gone are the days when we could dream of a mass expropriation of the means of production. Capitalist production today consists of the production of poisons, bacteriological weapons, nuclear weapons, biogenetics, genetic engineering, social engineering, special prisons, social control, and this is only the beginning. There is still time to crack this project that is aimed at tightening a network of control over the whole planet. Precisely because this control is capillary it is composed of millions of parts that are in themselves exposed and easily attackable, yet necessary to the functioning of the whole. The State of capital will not "wither away" as it seems that many anarchists have come to believe, not only entrenched in abstract positions of "waiting" for this to happen, but some even openly condemning the acts of those for whom the creation of the new world depends on the destruction of the old.

## Toyota Exacerbates Apartheid

Some might be surprised to know that the car industry is still the absolute top profit-making industry at world level, without rival. From the US to Japan to W. Germany, the automobile companies' figures confirm that they make profits at a rate that no other sector can keep up with, be it telecommunications, finance, chemicals, etc.

The Toyota Motor Corporation in Japan, according to a classification drawn up by the Teikoku Data Bank research institute, have

surpassed even the Nippon Telegraph and Telephone company. They make over 1,000 billion lire a year more than the Fiat.

General Motors made 1,454 million dollars and Ford 1,407 million in the first three months of 1989, leaving behind IBM who made 1,340 and General Electric at 972. Now one of the protagonists of post-industrial capitalism, the car industry maintains its claim to wealth through its continued infamous practice as one of the most ruthlessly murderous monsters that capital has produced. Recent manoeuvres point to the fact that, far from the workers' lot improving through restructuring and robotisation of production, it is reaching the depths of an international hell of dirty-dealing based on the total negation of any human dignity towards those whose labour it exploits. From their luxurious yachts and private jets the glossy assassinations cold-bloodedly exploit every situation that presents itself at planetary level in order to further round off costs. With new flexible plant structures and operations carried out in real time, they are like vultures always ready to pounce on the most palatable prey.

Needless to say one of those easy prey is the South African black labour force. Toyota have factories in Durban and Pinetown and a marketing division in Johannesburg. After a week of wild cat strikes the managers informed the 3,600 black workers that they had been sacked. The strike, called the week before by the 15,000 workers belonging to the Numsa metal mechanics national union, affected not only the Toyota workers but also Volkswagen in Uitenhage and South African Samcor. Volkswagen then proceeded to close its establishment "for an indefinite period." This was followed by the Goodyear plant with its 1,425 workers and Eveready with 800 in Port Elizabeth. They have since all been sacked, and the factories closed indefinitely.

## Towards a New Projectuality

If we consider reality as irreversible movement, where the possibility of creating something dif-

ferent from what is happening depends on our active intervention, we discover that the sense of change within us acquires new value through the our practical attempts. Analysis and radical critique are instruments in a project aimed at identifying elements that are qualitatively capable of creating discontinuity; action turns out to be the logical extension, the putting into practice, of what we really want to know and verify. There is no contradiction between theory and practice, between form and content, precisely at the moment in which this encounter takes place in reality and not in the paradise of abstraction.

#### *Disintegrating Control*

In spite of the fact that the media exalts the imperviousness of the apparatus of social control, such actions as the recent one against the Montedison show its vulnerability. They shatter the wall of appearances designed to make the mass feel powerless. The anonymous attack carried out by these individuals who have discovered the possibility of intervening directly on their own material conditions, completely dissolves the terroristic blackmail created ad hoc by the State.

What the system is afraid of is not these acts of sabotage in themselves, so much as their social spread. Every proletarianised individual who disposes of even the most modest means can draw up his or her objectives, alone or along with others. It is materially impossible for the State and capital to police the whole apparatus of control that exists over all of the social territory. Also, by attacking energy sources, the productive system is short-circuited: everything stops when the power is cut.

Anyone who really wants to contrast the network of control can make their own theoretical and practical contribution. The apparition of the first broken links coincides with the spreading of acts of sabotage over the territory. The anonymous practice of social self-liberation could spread to all fields, breaking the codes of prevention effected by power. The as-yet minoritarian acts of sabotage against the vivisection centres and the death factories – the *enfants terribles vs* information technology – will become the new way of relating to the world capitalist State. Its complete destruction will be

what interests this new movement, certainly not its expropriation and alternative management.

#### *To Know in Order to Transform*

The ecological destroyers have given us back the meaning of revolutionary and social action, showing us the possibility to directly create the conditions of change, preventing the destruction of the plane from going ahead without having recourse to intermediaries, the creators of impotence.

#### *Policing Ideas and Practising Freedom*

Until the reasons that push one to attack emerge clearly, we must stop the State's lynching of its opposition and the rigging of new scenarios of social prison.

One of the most urgent things to be done is to relaunch a coherent practice of freedom aimed at deconstructing the myriad of great and also tiny cathedrals that oppress us. The real and only terrorists are the Statists of every kind and colour, advocates of an emergency that represses, and militarises the whole territory of social life; mountains of prohibitions that suffocate all proletarianised individuals, prisoners of a permanent state of unliberty, allowed in the name of a violent peace.

It is necessary to oppose oneself to the *policing of ideas* and see freedom as the extensive base on which to regulate all relationships, both at individual and social level.

Many are asking themselves what these anonymous individuals want. We do not have this kind of problem, because we think that whoever does not aspire to management or command, but only to extending and radicalising the movement of social self-liberation, has no need for long words and documents. In fact it is probably precisely this that frightens the oppressors, accustomed until now to dealing with an enemy too similar to itself.

The atmosphere primed by the State serves to prevent the circulation of ideas, to condition every debate with reasons of State. Perhaps today we have an insurgent movement ahead of us that, deserting the street spectacle, is going ahead without leaders, freeing itself not only of repression but also of ideology, sooner or later to pour forth like a full river into the streets, drowning the spectacle that wanted to

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represent it.

All this is frightening, not only to State managers, but also to certain revolutionaries who are in the habit of controlling and conceiving things in the usual stale way, not all that different from how the enemy sees us.

We recognise individual rebellion as being right, the basis of every social road of liberation. Whoever tries to free themselves, organises themselves. Freedom is not dead; there are those who, defying everyone and everything, are making it take its first steps. We are against domination of any kind, and we are not afraid of all this. Perhaps it is for this reason that, behind the wall of incomprehension, we are able to understand the reasons of those who rebel, and give the lie to those who have aligned themselves with the old world.

Pierleone Porcu

*the destruction of existing methods of horticulture; natural growth is being wiped out; artificial control of climate, light, water, and nutrition take over the natural cycle of plant growth.*

Genetically a plant grows weaker and weaker if one interferes in its genetic structure. This way the plant will get more and more controllable. Its sensitivity becomes clear, and it is possible to replace a natural cycle with use of technology. With factory farming everything is already taken care of, thousands of the same chickens laying eggs every day. In the field of human beings, producers also want one single, healthy, well-functioning variety.

The manipulation of plants, bacteria, animals, and human beings—in short of nature itself—can't be seen separately. The techniques of reproduction now put into practice on women have already been used for years in stock farming and have been developed for higher production in that sector. Today artificial insemination, deep frozen embryos, and embryo-transfer are normal techniques within modern stock farming.

By means of techniques of reproduction (such as in vitro fertilisation) allows for fertilisation outside the womb, enabling increased genetic manipulation. To use these techniques, biotechnological knowledge and experience is essential.

Biologic, genetic, and reproductive technologies can be seen as the exploitation of new areas. With these techniques the where, when, and what kind, of new plants, animals, and people can be controlled. Only a few very large companies, for example Shell, have the possibility to invest in these techniques and to carry through the biotechnological developments in their companies in this sector.

The use of these techniques automatically means the destruction of small companies that can't or don't want to make this step (especially, for instance, farmers in third world countries). These new techniques even make it possible to make farmers and agricultural workers superfluous. It's for instance possible to make sweeteners in laboratories, making sugar cane unnecessary.

*Large multinationals such as Shell are, because of biotechnology, able to extend their power in*

## Germinating Resistance Against Shell's Biotechnology

On the night of 14/15 May a number of Shell companies were attacked. All of them are active in the field of plant improvement.

When people think of horticultural companies, they don't usually think of large and advanced ones like the ones we've just attacked, and they certainly don't think that they are owned by Shell. During the last few decades these companies have specialised in manipulating seeds and plants, and controlling horticulture. Large companies like Shell are able to gain a monopoly on this because because they are able to meet the costs of the large amount of money that has been invested.

People have always tried to improve plants. The most simple way is to select the seeds of the best plants for the next year. And of course there are a lot of other ways of *improving* the harvest or the quality of the plants. With the new developments in biotechnology and the investments in it by large multinationals, developments in this field have accelerated.

*Biotechnology is opening the door towards the complete artificial production of food, resulting in*

*fundamental areas such as food and energy supplies.*

*Shell creates a world market in which all of its products are tied to each other in one way or another. The company can use its knowledge in the field of biotechnology in both the agricultural and energy sectors.*

In the energy sector Shell uses rapidly growing trees; energy from the sun transformed into vegetable material very quickly, which is then used in the energy supply. Another vegetable material which can replace oil or natural gas is sugar cane. From sugar cane it's possible to make pure alcohol, which serves as a petrol-replacing fuel. In Brasil pure alcohol supplies 35 per cent of the market; Shell owns 22 per cent.

All over the world people become more and more dependent on companies such as Shell. But of course Shell's aim is not to fulfill people's needs. In fact, it creates new needs in order to sell new products. Characteristic of this is for instance the introduction of a wheat product, like bread, in third world countries. Instead of developing local or native plants, a new plant is introduced and so dependency is increased [through the increased need for fertilizers, stock seed, pesticides, etc - Ed.]

Some of the companies we attacked last night are busy in the field of plant improvement. They are all large companies doing research on improvement here, and in the final production of seeds in southern Europe or third world countries. Experiments in a lot of fields take place there, not only in order to increase production and quality, but especially to couple seeds to pesticides. This is not surprising, because the multinational has interests in both of them.

Seeds are no longer being made resistant to certain diseases, but to the pesticides of the same companies as where the seed comes from. Thus it is only possible to buy the seeds and pesticides together. With the production of hybrid seeds, of which it is said to produce a lot, it is made more and more difficult for farmers to remain self-supporting. Every year they have to buy new seeds because hybrid seed produces plants that have low seed production.

Large companies are not interested in the improvement of the conditions of life but in the suppression of all aspects of human life and

nature to the interests of profit, control, and reinforced power.

We fight against biotechnology not because of its unpredictability (because it is clear to us where it will lead to), but because it causes the destruction, repression, and oppression of people.

The western States think they are invulnerable with their new technologies. The solution for world food problems and the population problems are arrogantly proclaimed. Only a few people realise what choices are made (and have been made) for the future. Choices which have in no way been discussed within society.

*Technology cannot solve problems that originate from exploitation. The damage caused by the new techniques is irreversible. It leaves us no other choice than to intervene immediately and to use all the means possible to stop this process. We realise that our needs are diametrically opposed to these destructive developments.*

#### GERMINATING RESISTANCE AGAINST SHELL'S BIOTECH

### China: Deng's Guarantee

*The bloody massacre of Tienanmen square was a spectacular demonstration to Western capital, as well as a means of quelling the spreading insurgency in China against poverty and emargination.*

Three months have passed since the spectacular massacre of Tienanmen square, and the images of Deng's bloody publicity stunt remain vivid in our memories. Blood lends itself readily to sensational journalism and the media fully exploited the situation. No newspaper lost the occasion to decorate their pages with it, and many went further, bringing out gaudy colour supplements filled with page after page of young bodies lying in pools of blood.

"All they wanted was democracy," the press headings told us. Indispensable arm of capital, the media can bring shock, disgust, democratic indignation, or catharsis, insinuating that the action of the soldiers was an anomaly, due only to the age and stubbornness of the old guard. We instead know that the role of any army is precisely what the Chinese army

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carried out with particular clarity. The Chinese army merely accomplished the specific task for what any army—British, American, Turkish, or any other—is trained for, to control, repress, and when necessary, massacre in the interests of capital. The great insistence on imagery concerning such savage butchery therefore is, underneath the crocodile tears, a subliminal warning to the exploited everywhere.

In fact the seemingly inexplicable massacre of the Tienanmen Square merely struck the symbolic heart of a situation that was already spreading uncontrollably throughout the main cities of China and which had gone far beyond bicycle barriers and papier mache effigies. The contradictions unleashed by Chinese capitalism's opening to the world market and consequent reform of the society's economic structure are without parallel in the political and social field, and are the result of the breakdown of a rigid structure without the softener of mass consumerism, a political infrastructure, or entertainment circuses to fill in the newly opened voids. The elimination of collectivisation in 1978 had given way to a polarised Chinese population. On the one hand the possibility to accumulate or aspire to wealth in new unprecedented capitalist ventures, and on the other, masses of people thrown off the land and into the factories. When these collapsed to the advance of world capitalist investment and the invasion of the multinationals, the workers were literally thrown on to the streets. Eighty one thousand small industries closed down, thirty thousand others sacked hundreds of thousands of workers thereby creating a landless, jobless, "lumpenproletarianised" mass. Moreover, over 200 million of the population are ethnic minorities living in poverty-stricken conditions, who could explode in a way similar to what is happening in Tibet.

Of course it is true that most of the students were asking for democracy; that the workers wanted their Solidarnosc; that the white-collar workers aspired to greater appreciation, the intellectuals to more money. But these are all things that could have been resolved even after long struggles, both in the streets and at a political level, by the more astute elements of the power structure, who were capable

of foreseeing the social needs of a capitalist economy that cannot remain tied to old models.

But beyond all that there exists a social reality in China that is definitively excluded from the logic of bargaining: 180 million ex-peasants with no land, no work, and no prospects. Some of them—at least 50 million—went to the cities, attracted by the golden dream of the metropol. Two million in Shanghai, one million in Peking, half a million in Canton. They get charged daily by police, put on to trains and sent back to their areas of origin. But the land has no place for them and they return, obliged to carry out the most menial tasks, or just to "get by," picking pockets in the cities or resorting to other means of survival. While the students were demonstrating in Tienanmen square, riots and looting were taking place in many other Chinese cities.

In February, after the Chinese New Year, about three million people descended in Canton from the poorest areas of the country in the hope of finding work. This great human mass, of proportions that defy the imagination, was dispersed within two months—a small minority moving around the province to work in the mines, on road works, in farms, or in factories. Most of them were pushed on to lorries and sent "home." Some managed to escape to become beggars or pick pockets. Social tension grew out of all measure in this city of Chinese capital. Fights would break out or passersby would beat up pickpockets. But with the deportation of the majority to other areas of China, and tight controls of train tickets, a kind of capitalist-style "social peace" had been established in Canton between rich and poverty-stricken, before June 3.

In the period leading up to that day riots and looting were taking place in various Chinese cities. It was all very well for the students to say: "the use of violence is inadmissible," that "demonstrations and marches must take place in perfect order when the coordinating committees tell them, using the approved slogans," while waiting for the government to enter into dialogue with them. Students' cells organised in all the universities to direct the agitation and prevent things degenerating into hooliganism. The clashes—actual riots, such as those in Xian and

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Chansha where dozens of police were wounded, buses burned, buildings set on fire, party headquarters broken into by masses – were condemned as the work of an outlaw minority and other “anti-social elements” aimed at damaging the peaceful process of the demands.

Nevertheless, not all the students agreed with the model of peaceful demonstrations to pressure the party. Some wanted to open the struggle to other social strata. At the same time not all the workers would have contented themselves with bargaining of the trades-union kind. They joined the illiterate emarginated masses in the direct clash. In this climate of spreading riots, such an encounter could have turned into conscious insurrection, which in turn could have sparked off a chain of ethnic revolts in various regions.

The Chinese power structure therefore reacted according to the logic of all powers, for self-preservation. And for this it wanted a bloodbath. This path had been carefully planned from the start of the demonstrations forty nine days before the massacre. At no time was any attempt made to calm the students or to use police to establish order although China has a riot police force, trained in Poland. They also produce and export riot weapons and tear gas. At the beginning of June the Tienanmen square was occupied by about a thousand students, who could have been easily removed by the internal police force. Instead, the students were given the news that soldiers were approaching – slowly – giving the former time to put up barricades and call on the factory workers to join them as reinforcements.

The military recruits fled, leaving their machine guns and ammunition lying around. In this way the demonstrators were to arm themselves and justify the bloody repression that in fact followed.

The crazed massacre of the students and workers that followed served as a windscreen to a situation of uncontrollable mass struggle. In striking them the Chinese State carried out an exemplary action and cleared the way to having a new reign of terror and capillary control. The executions that followed and that are still continuing today are a more selective elimination of the unemployed, students, and work-

ers who were most advanced in the struggle.

Meanwhile, capitalism carries on business as usual. After the flight of technicians and managers from China on the wave of the killings, and the great statements by all the western States that tend to use more subtle and less messy ways of getting rid of their opposition, there will now be a period of re-establishing an equilibrium. West Germany, for example, expert in clean methods of extermination, stated that they could avoid making future investments in China. Officially Germany has already signed over four hundred contracts with the Chinese and there are thirty six joint ventures. The Volkswagen in Shanghai suspended production following the massacres, but for how long? Between 1985 and 1988 China received 730 million marks from West Germany, while a further 500 million marks that had been allocated as development aid have been blocked. Italian companies with huge interests in China include Fiat, the Ferruzzi-Montedison, Tecnimont, Iri, Banco di Roma. Corso Marconi has many employees in Nanchin in the megaplant that produces 60,000 lorries a year under the Iveco licence. Most of these companies evacuated their employees during the bloodbath, no doubt waiting for a restabilisation of internal relations before returning, although the Iri decided to dismantle. Not so for the Impexital, a company with five of the twenty Italian joint ventures in China. A few days after June 3, two of their technicians left Hong-Kong to fly to Chongqing to work in a tiles factory. All these and many more multinationals, the World Bank, and other investors and invaders of the Chinese territory, whether they decide to pull out of China or not, are equally responsible for the situation of reducing literally millions of Chinese to a state of poverty of Third World dimensions. They are equally guilty of the massacre of Tienanmen Square.

The young bodies strewn across the Tienanmen square were a guarantee to the investors, a bloody handshake to the multinationals, assuring them that they can safely continue to invest in China. And this is what is happening.

Jean Weir

## A Democratic Frame Up

October 2 is the date fixed for the judicial farce against anarchist comrades Alfredo Bonanno and Pippo Stasi, the two anarchist comrades arrested on February 2 this year in Bergamo, Italy, following an attempted robbery against a jeweler's shop. This is a farce for two reasons: one, because we know that the whole system of capitalist and State so-called justice is there simply in order to protect the former's sacking of the earth's resources and to maintain their own dominion, sentencing those who dare to reappropriate even a tiny part, to languishing in prison for years. And two, because as soon as the comrades' identity as anarchists was discovered by the police, a carefully-manipulated frame up was put into effect. It began informally when the local press came out with sensational articles aimed at a public lynching of the comrades, a trial by media, depicting Alfredo and Pippo as two "professional robbers" who would stop at nothing in their lust for gold. Unsolved robberies of the past were pulled out of police archives and passed on to willing press organs. A few months later the frame up was formalised in an official communication informing the comrades that legal proceedings were going ahead against them concerning a robbery that took place in Bergamo in 1985, and another in 1987, which also involves a murder charge.

So history repeats itself. Anarchists must be presented to the mass in the usual stereotypical image of ruthless enemies of society, emptied of their social and revolutionary content and depicted as monsters to be feared and spurned. This should not surprise us. The media is one of capital's main instruments, a vital arm in maintaining consensus and exploitation.

And we are enemies of all that. What does surprise us is when some comrades seem to ignore that role and believe they can "use" the media to further their own cause, which is equal to thinking that an anarchist publication might publish material that is favourable to the State or capitalism.

Even less should we be shocked by the judges' immediate availability to enforce the suggestions made by the flying squad. The role

of the judiciary is to enforce the laws drawn up to protect private property, exploitation, and domination. And the career of each individual judge can be summed up in centuries of prison meted out to thousands of proletarians.

One might think then that when—in addition to general functioning of State repression, in itself one of the most evident and cruel of capitalist crimes—two anarchists find themselves faced with life imprisonment simply for being proud anarchists, that comrades would have no hesitation in denouncing and attacking this state of affairs.

Not so, at least for some. For them, as for others like them in the past, anarchists taking illegal steps to respond to their needs (instead of the legal ones that unavoidably imply entering the logic of exploitation on one side or the other), is a source of fear (for their image? for their persons?), leading them to denounce such acts or (at best) ignore them as if they did not exist, leaving the State, as far as these bystanders are concerned at least, free reign to repress, when not adding to it with their own denunciations. "Property is theft" but woe betide those who decide to themselves reappropriate what has been stolen. And so history repeats itself—explicitly in the movement in Italy and in Spain, implicitly elsewhere, but there is no time to go into this here. It does not worry us. We have no aspirations to quantitative growth in the struggle, and this case makes no exception. It is a question for each single comrade to face as an individual, a question of dignity and coherence, not just for the arrested comrades, but for all anarchists, who are implicitly included by a frame up against single comrades. It is not the individual comrade who frightens the State, but the whole heritage of struggle and the possible encounter that this individual could make with the mass.

What counts is the qualitative intervention of the comrades who have made this further act of repression a point of reference in their own struggle, pushing them to develop better, more incisive means, and to put them into action. They are determined to define how they are anarchists through their action in the social struggle, reducing the field of the opinion-forming machinery of the State and capital. It is

all a question of perspective. For this reason no defence committee or other such specific group has been formed to channel anger against this vile act against the two comrades into the blind alley of single issue activism or technical defence. The latter is not the task of anarchists.

Alfredo Bonanno and Pippo Stasi will not attend this farce on October 2, in protest against the frame up enacted against them.

## Anarchists and Action

*Anarchists are not slaves to numbers but continue to act against power even when the class clash is at a low level in the mass, anarchist action should not therefore aim at organising and defending the whole of the class of exploited in one vast organisation, to see the struggle from beginning to end, but should identify single aspects of the struggle and carry them through to their conclusion of attack.*

*If anarchists have one constant characteristic it is that of not letting themselves be discouraged by the adversities of the class struggle or to be enticed by the promises of power.*

It will always be difficult, often impossible, to find an anarchist comrade who has given in to power. This might happen as a result of torture or physical pain, never by long spells of repression or loss of heart. There is something in anarchists that prevents them from becoming discouraged, something that makes them optimistic even in the worst moments of their history. It makes them look forward to possible future outlets in the struggle, not backwards to past mistakes.

An anarchist's revolutionary work is never exclusively aimed at mass mobilisation therefore, otherwise the use of certain methods would become subject to the conditions present within the latter at a given time. **The active anarchist minority is not a mere slave to numbers but acts on reality using its own ideas and actions.** There is obviously a relationship between these ideas and growth in organisation, but the one does not come about as a direct result of the other.

The relationship with the mass cannot be

structured as something that must endure the passage of time, ie be based on growth to infinity and resistance against the attack of the exploiters. It must have a more reduced specific dimension, one that is decidedly that of attack and not a rearguard relationship.

**The organisational structures we can offer are limited in time and space.** They are simple associative forms to be reached in the short term. In other words, their aim is not that of organising and defending the whole of the exploited class in one vast organisation to take them through the struggle from beginning to end. They must have a more reduced dimension, identifying one aspect of the struggle and carrying it through to its conclusion of attack. They should not be weighed down by ideology but contain basic elements that can be shared by all: self-management of the struggle, permanent conflictuality, attack on the class enemy.

At least two factors point to this road for the relationship between the anarchist minority and the mass: the class sectorialism produced by capital, and the spreading feeling of impotence that the individual gets from certain forms of collective struggle.

There exists a strong desire to struggle against exploitation, and there are still spaces where this struggle can be expressed concretely. Models of action are being worked out in practice.

There is still a lot to be done in this direction. **Small actions are always criticised for being insignificant and ridiculous against such an immense structure** as that of capitalist power. But it would be a mistake to attempt to remedy this by opposing capitalism with a relationship based on quantity rather than extending these small actions, which are easy for others to repeat. The clash is significant precisely because of the enemy's great complexity, which it modifies constantly in order to maintain consensus. This consensus depends on a fine network of social relations functioning at all levels. The smallest disturbance damages it far beyond the limits of the action itself. It damages its image, its programme, the mechanisms that produce social peace and the unstable equilibrium of politics.

**Each tiny action that comes from even a**

**very small number of comrades, is in fact a great act of subversion.** It goes far beyond the often microscopic dimensions of what took place, becoming not so much a symbol as a point of reference.

This is the sense in which we often speak of insurrection. We can start building our struggle so that conditions of revolt can emerge and latent conflict can develop and be brought to the fore. In this way contact is established between the anarchist minority and the specific situation where the struggle can be developed.

We know that many comrades do not share these ideas. Some accuse us of being analytically out of date, others of not seeing that circumscribed struggle only serve the aims of power, arguing that, especially now in the electronic era, it is no longer possible to talk of revolt.

But we are stubborn. We believe it is still possible to rebel today, even in the computer era.

It is still possible to penetrate the monster with a pinprick. But we must move away from the stereotypical images of the great mass struggles, and the concept of the infinite growth of a movement that is to dominate and control everything. **We must develop a more precise and detailed way of thinking.** We must consider reality for what it is, not what we imagine it to be. When faced with a situation we must have a clear idea of the reality that surrounds us, the class clash that such a reality reflects, and provide ourselves with the necessary means in order to act on it.

As anarchists we have models of intervention and ideas that are of great importance and revolutionary significance, but they do not speak for themselves. They are not immediately comprehensible, so we must put them into action, it is not enough to simply explain them.

The very effort of providing ourselves with the means required for the struggle should help to clarify our ideas, both for ourselves and for those who come in to contact with us. A reduced idea of these means, one that limits itself to simply counter-information, dissent and declarations of principle, is clearly inadequate. **We must go beyond that and work in three directions:** contact with the mass

(with clarity and circumscribed to the precise requirements of the struggle); action within the revolutionary movement (in the subjective sense already mentioned); construction of the specific organisation (functional to both work within the mass and to action within the revolutionary movement).

And we need to work very hard in this direction.

*Alfredo M. Bonanno*

## ALF: Striking the Laboratories of Power

The use of animals in laboratories has increased considerably since the last century. Physiologists, pharmacologists, and biomedical scientific researchers are now exploiting the differences between the different animal species, constructing models for studying the functioning of organisms in normal or pathological conditions.

About 400 million animals are used annually in experiments, 75 million in the USA, 5.5 million each in the UK, France, Switzerland, 20 million in Germany, and an unknown number in Japan and Canada.

These figures give some idea of the massacre carried out by the so-called most-intelligent being on the planet at the cost of the most vulnerable.

But to understand the underlying motivations for this proliferation of vivisection it is necessary to consider the economic, political, and military interests that are behind it, in order to identify those responsible, single out objectives, and strike the exploiters incisively.

### *The Pharmaceutical Industry and its Lies*

There were at least 150 thousand medicines on the market already in 1961. Today there are double that number, with the result that conditions such as cancer, epilepsy, diabetes, malformations, arthritis, and cardiovascular and nervous disorders have increased. Damaging side effects lead to even more varieties of medicine to counteract them. At the basis of this proliferation of medicines are the economic interests

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of the huge pharmaceutical companies that, thanks to the help of the various ministries and health authorities that are pushing the population to massive drug consumption, instill the conviction that health comes from the doctor and the chemist. They continually carry out experiments on animals with the aim of "ensuring that the product is safe." Such experimentation gives the vivisection barons a career, rapid enrichment due to concessions of public financing, personal prestige, and popularity in all the specialised publications.

False propaganda in favour of vivisection (eg to show that all possible tests have been carried out on medicines, etc, before submitting them for human consumption) is carried out by international media. Eighty per cent of their paid insertions come from the petrochemical multinationals, the pharmaceutical, agrochemical, dye, fertiliser, plastic, cosmetic, pigment, additive, etc industries, without which they would lose a huge source of income.

In this way various campaigns for financing associations for cancer research are carried out through advertisements deliberately construed to convince citizens to support such work of unquestionable social value.

At the same time they hide meaningful information such as the number of deaths due to tumours: one in thirty at the beginning of the century, but today, after years of research, and experiments on millions of animals, are one in five. Not to mention that 85% of tumours are due to environmental factors.

The military sector is also interested in vivisection. For years animals have been used to test the effects of certain bombs, such as nerve gas or napalm, which have since been replaced by bacteriological weapons, as the latter are capable of covering a far wider field. Every day millions of monkeys are bombarded with bacteria of every kind, destined to perish in slow agony so that industries can calculate how long it takes to exterminate people.

*Genetic Experiment and Economic Empire*  
Biomedical research has led to artificially changing some of the animals' characteristics, to create subjects that better lend themselves to specific experiments. Selected types of mice are

further and further removed from the original species. Some of the animals are characterised by precocious aging, others a tendency to obesity and alcoholism, or have different tolerances or rejection rates of organ transplants. A further step in genetic engineering has been the creation of transgenic animals, carrying two fragments of DNA usually coming from two different species of animals. In 1983 in the US they tried a qualitative leap: inserting a human gene into a mouse, not only the somatic one, but also in those used for reproduction. In this way the super-rat emerged, with irreversibly changed hereditary characteristics.

The animal lab business is reaching a climax not only in the US but also in Europe. Many companies breed laboratory animals and sell them through sales reps, catalogues, and price lists. For some time now a catalogue has been circulating in Italy originally sent out by the firm Stefano Morini, with a main office in S. Polo d'Enza (Reggio Emilia), that claims to be the only Italian firm in the field.

There is Stratagene in La Jolla, California, which sells equipment and materials for molecular biology laboratories and produces transgenic rats on demand. One need only send them the gene whose "manifestations in life" one is interested in studying. The price for each specimen is thousands of dollars in the US and tens of millions of lire in Italy.

The Charles River Laboratories, New England have created mice that can be requested with or without hair, according to the requirements of the experiments; moreover they have produced the micropig, used in the field of experimental surgery (organ transplants) and implantology. These massacring multinationals appear outwardly to be benefactors devoted to research in order to improve the quality of life, but as always it is money and power that are the only protagonists in this ruthless race in experimentation and indiscriminate manipulation. Some of the prices of these living toys gives an idea of how things stand. The Foundation for Biochemical Research supplies mice at \$2 to \$40, bald ones go at \$20, rats go from \$3.5 to \$30, rabbits from \$15 to \$200, sheep from \$150 to \$400, monkeys and baboons oscillate between \$350 and \$10,000.

But beyond the economic aspect there are other interests at stake, interests that are being kept hidden by capital for the time being, for example the creation of "human animals" that have been selected and programmed; "mosaic individuals" that are to have the capacity to absolve all the functions of a productive character and of social control.

For this and other reasons it is necessary to attack these multinationals of legalised massacre and snatch from them all the information that they jealously guard, in order to gain better knowledge of our enemy in order to strike it more effectively.

## General Thrown into the Sea

At the end of March "freedom celebrations" took place in the form of a victory parade in Vittoriosa, Malta.

About 200 demonstrators contested the authorities present and celebrated the day their own way, throwing General John Spiteri into the sea, after hitting him on the head with his glorious ceremonial sword.

The demonstrators were immediately charged by police.

## Schools in Flames

The days when school could be considered a closed system with its own problems are over. School is now fully projected into the wider conditions of the social conflict as a whole. It now carries out precise functions that are increasingly tailored to meet the requirements of post-industrial production.

In this new context the need for a vertically organised range of qualifications no longer exists, there is instead a demand for horizontal specialisation with people knowing how to do a great many different things, but at a low level of specialisation. They must be adaptable and willing to change jobs frequently or adapt themselves to spending long periods simply looking for work.

Capital's need to build a mass that is excluded from mainstream technology culture has led to a pauperisation of mass schooling, leading to scarce means for teachers, disinterest, and a general lowering of content. In order to create a democratic mentality, ie a mentality of participation rather than a simple direct subordinate relationship to authority, emphasis is put on breakdown of rigid authoritarian systems within the classroom, an emphasis on assembly and discussion, etc.

This project, which has precise aims in the long term, is not fully understood by teachers in the first place, who are experiencing a disintegration of old structures of control often leading to situations of chaos within the classroom. The pupils find themselves in a cultural desert, an extension of the deadly atmosphere of the urban enclosures in which they have been reared. Here again the most eloquent critique takes the form of attack, often in the form of arson attacks, many carefully aimed at causing extensive damage and at striking the control centres within the school.

Certainly the situation, where teachers could happily allow themselves to shout, punish, and even beat school pupils without any student pushback, has now changed. In France last year alone 1,756 cases of attacks on teachers were registered. It seems now that a slap or too authoritarian of an attitude by a teacher could cost him or her anything from a simple knifing to a punitive expedition organised by parents and friends, or even being beaten up or attacked by molotov.

In the US a boy pulled a revolver on a teacher because he was not allowed to have a photograph of himself in the school album because he was wearing an "Anarchy Now" teeshirt. Some US schools now have metal detectors at the entrance. At Saffi secondary school in one of Bologna's ghetto areas the rage of the pupils explodes any time a teacher attempts to use repressive methods. Tyres are slashed, cars burnt, windows smashed, and there are sometimes physical clashes with the teachers.

At the end of May the Goethe science secondary school in Milan was attacked. After breaking some windows the night raiders got into the school offices and smashed them up, as

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well as the teachers' room. They then piled up registers, school documents, etc, and set fire to them using two cans of petrol. A considerable part of the building was badly damaged.

At the end of July another fire completely destroyed the administrative block of the Gemelli secondary school in via Pescarenico, still in the Milan area, the aluminium roof over the school offices, headmaster's room, and medical rooms melted completely. The damage has been estimated at a billion lire.

Of course, we are still far from a conscious rebellion against school as it is developing today. At most these incidents reflect insufficiency of an educational system aimed at forming docile, acquiescent subjects with a flexible mentality. These are manifestations of a refusal to submission, an important element in the revolt and its development against *the new order of capital*.

## Palestine: Time for Action

*With the continuing struggle in Palestine we are growing used to all the levels of horror which the Israeli army is using to try to repress it. But beyond the horror there is also disgust for those who, seeing how things stand, continue to do nothing about it, hiding behind a veil of historical and political justifications.*

We are not among those who describe all the repressive means that the State studies and uses to try to crush the just rebellion of the oppressed. This is a typically English affectation that has a very negative effect on facing the problem of *what is to be done*.

But we must make an exception this time. A brief catalogue of the means and the particularly atrocious way they are being applied against the Palestinian insurrection in the occupied territories, should throw anyone with a minimum of dignity into the most profound consternation.

Normal tear gas bombs such as those used by police in Europe, are loaded with chloracetophenone, dangerous in a certain concentration in closed places. But those used in Palestine are loaded with dychlorobenzylidene,

often lethal even in open spaces. It should be borne in mind that those most exposed to these dangers are children, especially when malnourished such as many children in Palestine.

The old gas spreaders containing about two and a half kilos were substituted by the 606 Jumbo—which spreads four kilos of gas—and by the 303, with rubber bullets that bounce back while spreading gas and so cannot be picked up. Now the army also possess the 809 version that can be shot as far as 150 metres, uniting the effects of the gas to the kinetic impact on the body of whoever receives it. As it is mainly a question of old people, women and children, it is easy to imagine the consequences.

The hard rubber bullets first tried and tested in Ireland, are now used regularly in Palestine and have caused over 30 deaths in the past 22 months. Some of the bullets contain lead and are deadly at a distance of less than 70 metres.

A special machine of recent construction responds to the stones thrown by the young Palestinians with other stones blasted out in huge quantities.

A device called the "washing machine" is mounted on an armoured truck and jets a 200 litre spray of foam. This foam solidifies immediately, walling up alive those caught in it.

Reconnaissance controls are now carried out by radio-controlled helicopters that can descend without the risks that normal helicopters have, of being struck down by a well-aimed stone.

A special ultra-light spotter has been perfected to survey the countryside. It is a biplane that costs less than £10,000, flies at a speed of 180 kilometres per hour and requires only 16 hours flight training.

Radio-controlled pilotless reconnaissance aircraft are used to transmit pictures to the operational centre. They fly at about 75 kph for about 25 minutes at a time.

As well as these new ultrasophisticated means, state forces continue to use the normal ones that were put into action right from the start of the uprising. One of the most highly-equipped and efficient armies in the world is trying—without success—to crush an unarmed people who are rebelling by throwing stones.

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All the horrors of classical genocide have been used: mass deportations, concentration camps, indiscriminate massacres, destruction of individual dwellings and whole groups of houses, shootings on the spot, violence, rape, attacks on mosques, attacks on the Red Cross, planned massacres, use of death squads, and the list could go on.

Be careful, comrades. At this moment the historical conditions that have presented themselves since almost the beginning of humanity, continue. The spiral of death continues unabated. There are many today who are intent on underlining historical distinctions or insisting on differences, even valid ones, but which date to times too far in the past to be of any value in clarifying the reality of today, of a people dying in the face of the almost total indifference of the world. This brings to mind the bourgeoisie who lined up under Mazzini's doubts, then in the days of the massacres felt the need to comfort their theses by coming out into the streets and gouging out the dead communards' eyes with the points of their umbrellas. And in the same way those good people near Dachau who, during the extermination of the Jews, presented a complaint to the local authorities because the smoke from the "factory" was killing the birds in the nearby trees, are the ones who today are speaking of the "positive aspects" of nazism.

The important thing to note yet again is that there is a moment for examining theory, but there is a time when Minerva's bird must go to sleep and this is the time for action and the destruction of the enemy.

Internationalist Action

## One Less Sweatshop

"The boss ill-treated us so we decided to destroy the factory." That is what three young workers said at the moment of their arrest, accused of having set fire to the factory that produced bathroom and kitchen furnishings where they worked.

The burnt-out factory was the property of Roberto Buonaquisti, its main office in the

Prenestina area in Rome. The rebel workers were aged 18, 17, and 16 years.

Everything began when the three young workers decided to put an end to their state of superexploitation a few months ago, and to respond to the humiliation they were being subjected to by their slave driver boss. Beginning with verbal protest, they then moved to a decidedly more incisive form of struggle: direct action and sabotage against the whole productive structure of the factory, including some depots in the outskirts of Rome. So, following a series of small attacks carried out in night raids against the firm, they decided as a final solution to destroy the main depot. This resulted in irreparable damage being done to the machinery, once highly-flammable material caught fire.

The three youths were accused of arson, aggravated willful damage, threats, and also aggravated theft, as the investigators maintain that they took away some tools during one of their night visits.

This case underscores without half measures the present conditions of exploitation that many young people are living under, employed as apprentice labourers in small and medium industries, which are a clandestine world of production swarming with voracious bosses who are making their fortunes on the skins of those who daily lend them their work power. The thousands of serious and minor accidents that take place every day in these backwoods of metropolitan exploitation (black labour) are immediately covered up by the complicit silence of the press, as well as by the administrators of the local firms, the parties, and the trades unions, who maintain that they are fighting this wild exploitation while drawing up agreements with the bosses and financing them under the table: after all they "create work," don't they.

But there are also those who, like these three young workers, not yet perfectly domesticated by capital nor transformed into little soldiers to produce and bow down to the rules of constituted order, and correctly react to the oppression under which they are living. There are those who, delegating nothing to anyone, defend their rights and their dignity by

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insurgency, rebelling against the world of those exploiters.

Our solidarity goes to these three young workers. To set fire to one of capital's productive structures, be it large or small, is a concrete way to begin to oppose in first person, the projects of terror brought into the social territory by capital and the State.

## Leoncavallo

Leoncavallo was a social centre for 14 years. Let us say right away that it has never been a haunt of *Autonomia Operaia*. I say this to all the idiotic journalists who think they know more than the devil. Certainly, it was a point of reference for communist collectives. Then, with the passing of years it aggregated comrades of all tendencies, including the libertarian one, in a minority compared to the Social Centre collectives, but not less important.

October 18, 1975—The self-managed area committees protested because there was no green space or place in which to meet in the whole area. At the end of this demonstration an abandoned pharmaceutical factory was squatted. So began the long story of Leoncavallo Social Centre, which has seen more than one generation of comrades.

August 16, 1989—At 7am there is a strange silence in Milan in the streets surrounding Leoncavallo. A battle between the forces of order and the eighty comrades who had barricaded themselves inside all night, who were waiting for the eviction, ready to face and defend the centre. (Milan is literally deserted. All shops, offices, and bars are closed during Italian capitalism's main holiday week, chosen for the eviction not by chance.) Outside at the main entrance, a huge banner: "No threat of eviction will take away the rage and the joy of the struggle." The threat that had been made more and more frequently in recent years became real that morning.

An eviction order that had been hastily drawn up by the Milan Magistrate's Court in September 1988 was handed in.

Barricaded behind the door were various

expressions of the Milan, Italian, and European youth movement. It was not a political organisation that barricaded itself, as the newspapers were to write afterwards. That morning each person represented a small piece of history and the youth reality that exists in Milan today.

At 7:20 the battle begins. Tear gas on one side, stones on the other. The air is suffocating, outside and in. Police and carabinieri start beating up the comrades. Those on the roofs resist, but are targeted by police who get the "hospitality" of the neighbouring flats so as to take easy aim. A gas canister hits one comrade in the back, another in the testicles. A young punk comrade is mistaken for a boy and has her nose smashed by a truncheon by a pig, who apologizes later. All are made to pass through a human corridor to be rounded up, being beaten as they passed.

An hour later the bulldozers arrive, and within a few hours the whole establishment, consisting of various buildings, was razed to the ground.

At 8:30, the war over, the rest of the comrades are forced down from the roofs by firemen, their eyes red with the fumes of teargas. They are pushed onto armoured police vans outside; the few comrades there in solidarity raise clenched fists and shout slogans. The local people are moved (perhaps they think it is yet another film about the "years of lead").

The pigs are still searching around the area for fear of having forgotten someone to carry away. At that moment someone remembers Iaio and Fausto, also part of the history of Leoncavallo, murdered on March 18 by fascists/drug pushers.

12 noon—The comrades held at the police station number 55, those under arrest, 26. The charges are resisting arrest, violence against private property, possession of explosive material, and "arms of war" (22 molotovs found inside the social centre).

After the eviction the comrades immediately began to rebuild the ruins, an attempt to rebuild something that had definitively been destroyed. In the press the first arguments begin. No one wants to take responsibility for what happened: politicians, the mayor, say they have no idea

of where the eviction order had come from! This strange building contractor's firm, Scotti, mixed up in other building speculation, is directly responsible, as well as the mayor, the political parties, and the Milan City Council. In reality they were all in agreement. Why believe the promises that were later made to comrades?

The only valid response was given the following day in a huge demonstration with comrades from all over Italy, where free reign was given to the rage of these days. But they were only moments because the present day youth movement is afraid to throw themselves completely and freely against their oppressors. Too many moralists, too many politicians would like to direct the social tension on to peaceful rails, where the struggle is sifted by those who would like to lead the masses and keep them quiet.

As anarchists the objectives of these struggles are undoubtedly different from those of other comrades: to undo the mechanisms of power, break the silence on dirty dealing, split/break the monotony, and never let oneself be taken in by the easy promises of politicians in all their guises.

Patrizia

the population's health.

We think that behind the bombardment of news concerning the ecological red alert in the areas of high industrial concentration where atmospheric pollution safety levels have been amply surpassed, there lies another far less noble battle: a battle for power between the old capitalist-industrial class and the new ascending one constituted of the public and private bureaucracy in view of the position the latter have reached within the technological apparatus of capital and the State.

We know that the image of the catastrophe, in this case the ecological one, emotively pushes the mass to fight beyond any motivation coming from their own specific condition of exploitation, not so much for social change but to save their own threatened survival. That pushes them to adopt the reasoning leading to the conservation of the present social order.

The planet is dying, we all know it. It is full of poison and lacking in oxygen because of atmospheric pollution. The rivers are biologically dead; lakes and seas are reduced to dustbins; a greenhouse effect is produced by the raising of the levels of carbon dioxide thanks also to the massive work of deforestation of one of the main lungs of the earth, the Amazon forest. Growing drought is causing the extension of vast new deserts, and we are assisting in the tragedy of peoples and animal species on their way to extinction, sacrificed to the logic of profit and dominion.

Every class that aspires to domination brings with it its own world and its own logic. The ascending bureaucrats are using ecology to accelerate the process of taking over the old world.

But what can that cause in the mass, increasingly terrified by the possibility of catastrophe and interiorising the logic of emergency, if not total adhesion to the repressive codes of behaviour dictated by cybernetic power. With scientific punctuality it is inviting millions of proletarianised individuals to participate and mobilise alongside the institutions to create and institute new organisms of control and to sanction new social authorities under the thrust of a new democratic radicalism.

Beyond its immediate drama, the Chernobyl

## The Catastrophe Psychosis

For a long time now there has been a kind of terrorist blackmail leading to more and more reliance on a policeman-like logic of emergency. The media turns up problems and uses apocalyptic images of imminent catastrophe, pushing great masses of people to mobilise to avoid it.

One should ask oneself what lies behind the pictures presented by the media of impending ecological catastrophe, presented as a problem beyond the realm of social relations or class conflict.

We have strong doubts about the show of good intentions made by politicians of every kind and colour (including the environmentalists) and their sudden interest in

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nuclear accident gave capital and all the States the chance to coldly experiment elements upon which to apply repressive projects of control and consensus, precisely by exploiting the idea of a permanent state of emergency.

The emergency intervention therefore does not resolve the problem but serves to control in order to eliminate conflict over the social territory through the blackmail of a duty to collaboration between classes. All the emergency measures that are presented as being necessary for the general social interest, in actual fact give way to a process of privilege and submission given the inequality of existing material conditions.

The greens and environmentalist associations are not looking for a solution to the problem of pollution but to a capillary and spreading control in order to make it a source of profit. One discovers that the least polluted parts of the cities are areas destined to the higher social strata: the poor get square metres of cement and waste dumps in the hells in the outskirts.

It is time then to unmask their role as the new social pacifiers, who go beyond the spectacle rigged on the blackmail that "the planet must be saved at all costs," to themselves managing existing alienation, in an alternative way but always based on exploitation and oppression.

We think that the struggle against the domination of man over man is the only basis from which to start. It is the only one capable of attacking those responsible for the destruction of both the planet and social wealth. We must aim concretely towards the liberation of man and nature in the global sense.

The greens and environmentalists are so-called ecologists whose aim is not a clean ecological planet: their politics are a green apartheid that wants "green islands" destined to the comfort of the privileged. The international environmentalist associations are the multinationals of ecology, capitalism revised and corrected following the damage done by its proceeding phase of maximum industrialisation.

The social struggle in the ecological sense is valid only if it strikes the relationships of dominion, the structures of capital and the State,

showing its subversive force that contains the prospect of a new world, not the alternative management of the old.

## AIDS and Biological Warfare

It is hard to imagine that a cure for AIDS would be withheld for economic reasons alone. Could there be some other reason?

Despite repeated denials from Defence Department officials, allegations persist that AIDS is a genetically-altered virus, deliberately released to wipe out homosexuals and/or non-whites in the USA and reduce populations in third world countries. ...Circumstantial evidence is quite compelling that the AIDS virus was artificially engineered and planted in several different locations at about the same time through vaccination programs, and possibly blood bank contaminations.

At a House Appropriations hearing in 1969, the Defence Department's (BW) Biological Warfare division requested funds to develop, through gene-splicing, a new disease that would both resist and break down a victim's immune system. ...In 1972, the World Health Organisation published a similar proposal. *"An attempt should be made to ascertain whether viruses can in fact exert selective effects on immune function, eg by ...affecting T-cell function as opposed to B-cell function. The possibility should also be looked into that the immune response to the virus itself may be impaired if the infecting virus damages more or less selectively the cells responding to the viral antigen."* WHO Bulletin, vol 47, p 257-274) This is a clinical description of the function of the AIDS virus.

The incidence of AIDS infections in Africa coincides exactly with the locations of the massive WHO smallpox vaccination program in the mid 70s (*London Times* May 11, 1987). Some 14,000 Haitians then on UN secondment to Central Africa were also vaccinated in this campaign. Personnel actually conducting the vaccinations may have been completely unaware that the vaccine was anything other than what they were told.

Infection hits twice as many Blacks, Latinos,

and Native Americans as among whites, with death coming two to three times as swiftly. And over 80 per cent of the children with AIDS and 90 per cent of infants born with it are among those minorities. "Ethnic weapons" that would strike certain racial groups more heavily than others have been a long-standing US Army BW objective. (Harris and Paxman, p 265.) Under the current US administration, biological warfare research spending has increased 500 per cent, primarily in the area of genetic engineering of new disease organisms. The "discovery" of the AIDS virus (HTLV V3) was announced by Dr Robert Gallo at the National Cancer Institute, which is on the grounds of Fort Detrick, Maryland, a primary US Army biological warfare research facility...

The Hepatitis B vaccine study in 1978 appears to have been the initial means of planting the infection in New York city. The test protocol specified non-momogamous males only, and homosexuals received a different vaccine from heterosexuals. At least 25-50 per cent of the first reported NY AIDS cases in 1981 had received the Hepatitis B test vaccine in '78. By 1984, 64 per cent of the vaccine recipients had AIKS, and the figures on the current infection rate for the participants of that study are held by the US Department of Justice, and are "unavailable."

The AIDS epidemic emerged fullblown in the three US cities with "organised gay communities" before being reported elsewhere, including Haiti or Africa, so it is epidemiologically impossible for either of those countries to be the origin point for the US infections.

Another indication that AIDS had multiple origin points is that the 14-month doubling time of the disease cannot nearly account for the current number of cases if we assume only a small number of initial infections starting in the late 1970s.

Waves Forest

## The Violence of Poverty

Yet another rape. But today violence against a woman is more amusing if it takes place in a group: of at least 14. This is what happened in

a village in Sicily, Militello. A fifteen year girl was raped by boys between 11 and 18 years all looking for adventure. An adventure with a girl whose parents had just returned to Sicily after years of emigration.

The newspapers point out one particular: the girl, who became pregnant as a result of the rape, was mentally disturbed. Her womanhood, her freedom of choice, is trampled on before she starts. First by her parents, who almost kept the fact hidden because of their shame, then the whole village, who interpreted the event as a boyish prank to defend the rapist kids, then the judge. The girl is being prevented from having an abortion. The village priest shows off his sullen moralism.

This time they couldn't even use the alibi of the miniskirt, of the seductive gaze of the continental woman who—they say—attracts men and distracts them from their good feelings of father, husband or brother.

In that environment there is a more subtle violence, a violence that comes from ignorance and fear. The ignorance of the boy rapists who pursue images according to which a woman cannot be considered a human being to be respected and loved.

In the south as in the north, sex is still something dirty, composed of violence and abuse. In Milan a girl is raped by a male nurse in a hospital bed. In Termini station in Rome eighty people stand by and watch an attempted rape take place on a station bench. The rapist was then covered by the crowd and escaped. So, look out. From the tiny Sicilian village to the huge metropoli, rape remains the alternative of idiots, the last beach of interior emargination and the incapacity to communicate one's rage in any other way.

But in a little village the authority of the priest, the judge, the carabinieri, the public opinion of "respectable" people who don't want any scandal, bears a fundamental weight on things. In such an environment it is even possible for abortion to be denied to a girl who has been raped.

Violence is practically subscribed to by a power structure which itself exercises a double violence on the population: on the girl who must submit to the decisions made by the family and

the rest of the village; and on the boy rapists.

They are all more concerned with obeying laws and morality than about the life of this young woman.

We must begin to shout our rage again, but not by asking for more severe laws or the application of new ones: this only helps the system to castrate any possible search for freedom, our own and that of others, men and women alike.

If we believe that the practice of rape is born from a precise social condition, then we must not humiliate ourselves with demands for laws that only play the game into the hands of those who rape and exploit us daily.

We are not interested in whether those who raped the girl are found guilty or innocent. That would be too easy. We must fight the whole structure that contributes to creating the very idea of violence against women and against emarginated people and proletarians in general. And, as usual, the latter, instead of beating up the bosses, are fighting against themselves, numbing their minds with all the shit that power produces.

Violence often grows from conditions of poverty and survival that create the need to possess at all costs what one cannot have through practices of freedom, be it sex or any other part of normal activity.

If we want to overcome this profound contradiction between the request to be "regimented" and a search for liberation within human beings, then we must struggle in our own way and with our own instruments against all the relations of dominion that generate violence. Perhaps that day in Militello the boys would have preferred to have beaten up the priest or to have created some perspective for a less rotten life. Today they are locked up in a cell and are asking themselves why. The State will pardon their misdeed, but they will always remain convinced that all that, even their very punishment, was right and fits into the normal way of things.

Patrizia

## On the Subject of Pinelli...

*Following the article in issue 5 re Pinelli's murder in Milan police headquarters, an interesting point is made concerning attitudes that prevail in the anarchist movement.*

There was a general feeling among comrades following Pinelli's murder in Milan police headquarters and his flight from the window of commissioner Calabresi's room, that the State would never get to the bottom of the search for whoever was responsible for our comrade's death.

Everyone was convinced that Pinelli's death would remain another State misdeed similar to the Salsedo case in America which bore incredible similarities to that of Pinelli.

A few years later, in May 1972 to be exact, commissioner Calabresi was shot outside his home in Milan.

Comrades felt this was linked to Pinelli's death. Just punishment for he was responsible for killing him. A good thing, it was thought by many at the time.

Then the gossip began. There was a mania for making distinctions and political suppositions. It was said that the secret services were responsible, because the commissioner knew too much about the Milan massacre. Some said it was the work of fascists. A number of comrades even went to the extent of passing this idea off as fact (for example Stuart Christie in his book on Stefano delle Chiaie).

We cannot say for sure that it was comrades who killed Calabresi. What we can say with certainty is that thousands of comrades were present at Pinelli's funeral and that all of them, to varying degrees, wanted Calabresi's death.

One can obviously say it is one thing to want something, another to actually do it. And that is true. But one should not underestimate the capabilities of the revolutionary movement and give too much credit to the forces of State reaction.

Revolutionaries are also capable of doing things, and they often do them. Unfortunately there is an almost masochistic mania among comrades for magnifying the adversary's strength, insisting that the police and the State

machinery in general is such that there is little we can do.

It should be said in opposition to this way of magnifying the enemy, that if it is right that one should know one's enemy, not for that should we transform it into an omnipotent machine that we can do little against.

AMB

## In the Shadow of the Gallows

The bloody regime in Botha's South Africa continues to churn out crimes of every kind against the black population, while, apart from their ridiculous sanctions, the EEC countries continue to be their best commercial partners. The international press can also be considered their precious ally, given the silence and distortion of information deliberately carried out concerning the social and political conditions in that country. The foul regime in Pretoria is now preparing itself to carry out yet another in its endless list of crimes, once again raising the spectre of the gallows to terrorise the black population and make them desist from their purpose of rebelling, trying to channel their revolt on to the road of a few tepid reforms and an opening of the internal market to black consumerism and an extension of the services sector.

Another 14 black people have been sentenced to death, and 12 more await the same fate. They make up the 26 demonstrators arrested during an antiapartheid demonstration held in the town of Upington in 1985. During the demonstration a black policeman was killed and all the demonstrators arrested that day were charged with murder.

The court has separated the accused into two groups: the first has been found guilty by a white jury, using the infamous amendment to the penal code, "common purpose." Through this play on words those accused do not have to be charged with specific offences, only to have participated in a demonstration attended by hundreds more people. In this way they can be sentenced to death without a trace of evidence. The same logic as that once applied by the nazis: when one of them was killed they rounded up

all the passersby in the streets and, applying the concept of "common purpose" they chose a number of people at random and shot them on the spot.

In the factories, the mines and every other place of work, racial discrimination presents itself as class discrimination.

Not by chance the bosses, directors and technicians are all white, while the blacks and other "nonwhites" make up the totality of the working class and the most emarginated of the population.

Upington is a town in the north west of the Cape where between 1983 and '86 the black ghetto Poballelo was the most advanced in the struggle against rent increases, taxes, the constitutional reform swindle, against arrests, and for boycotts of discriminatory schools and white-owned shops.

The area was also in the lead concerning repression: all the black organisations were outlawed and their leaders arrested. Death squads killed many anti-apartheid activists.

Dozens of black police handed in their demission, councillors disappeared, the mayor handed in his demission and is now one of the Upington 26.

There is still a little time left before the multiple gallows of Pretoria central prison set to work (they can murder seven people at a time). This time must be used to carry out initiatives aimed at drawing attention to what is happening in South Africa.

Not having recourse to institutions, but making direct pressure, attacking the European and multinational industries that have commercial interests in that country, the banks investing in it, the companies that import agricultural and industrial products, with any means one thinks fit.

Nor are we forgetting the lucrative gold commerce with South Africa which also makes jeweller's shops accomplices to apartheid.

We must have confidence in our capacity to struggle and not delegate this to anyone else, or to the field of legalistic international bargaining. It is the task of all comrades and all those fighting for a radical transformation of life to tear the Upington 26 from the gallows.

Let us put pressure on the press silence on

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this affair and force them to talk about it.

Antagonism as solidarity means only one thing in this perspective.

Milan anarchist group "Insurrection"

## Let's Get the State Out of Our Veins

1988, an arrogant politician at the head of an indefinable "socialist party" wants to penalise drug taking.

All drugs, except those linked to popular folklore such as alcohol, the one that claims most victims. The proof was given in the United States—it made an epoch—never was so much alcohol drunk: they called it prohibitionism. Respectable people are singing his praises. Ordinary men feel that they've found a hard for their sphincter. And what is incredible is that credit is given to and time is spent discussing this authoritarian delirium in bars and toilets. Yet another step is being taken into the desert. Giving the State new powers over citizens. Another slice of individual freedom is being sacrificed to the crazy monster. Our governors are taking over in a way that is disturbing. Individual freedom was already heavily mortgaged in the period defined as that of "terrorism" with the shameful Reale Law—a worsening of the fascist code that has never been discontinued—sanctified by popular referendum. Italian politicians thus created a new moral figure: the pentito (one who repents to the State), brilliant proof of absolute indifference in the face of the most elementary moral principles. And it is in this way that those who not only plead guilty to the laws of the State but also grass on their comrades are rewarded with freedom and money; they only have to betray their comrades, to collaborate in maintaining the positions of power that had been shaken for a moment. Many on the other hand who refused to become informers were sentenced to decades of prison simply because they were considered dangerous "terrorist" sympathisers.

It is clear that the main interest of the State

is to preserve itself and that is why it is quite prepared to crush the sacred moral principles it claims to be a bastion of to kick its own laws, the ones it normally uses to inflict centuries of prison on thousands of its citizens. Today, through the insane charisma of one of its most worthy representatives, Craxi, the State wants to steal another piece of individual freedom from us: the possibility of choosing whether to take drugs or not, to feel pleasure or not. We, anarchists, affirm that it is a part of the inalienable rights of the individual to choose whether to use drugs or not, and everything else concerning one's own person, including the loss of health and life as is happening more and more frequently with the wide use of heavy drugs. If one wants "to put a stop to" deaths from heroin, this must come from a new individual and social awareness that is incompatible with and suffocated by the State: it will certainly not come about through the imposition of new laws issued directly from the drug trafficking headquarters. The State is not the boss of our lives and bodies as it would have us believe with the law on obligatory organ removal from dead bodies. It cannot set itself up to be the judge of who knows what corrupt constitutional entity.

It is the duty of all individuals who want to be free to defend their own freedom—to live, to die, to drug oneself—from the sackage of the State.

Let us prevent the state, improbable moraliser, and Craxi, its sex symbol, from laying its hands on our individual freedom, even if it is for our own good. Our good or our ill is precisely our own affair, something that is strictly personal. And we are quite sure it is not the task of the state to judge it.

Only the abolition of all laws on drugs will interrupt this massacre, power abuse, continual violence, the corruption and the dizzy swindles by the drug laws which they now want to make more severe...

Only the abolition of laws will be able to blow up the "clandestine" drug market. The State must not touch free will. It is indispensable to limit the intrusiveness of its great power. To unmask its double role as drug pusher and repressor. Those in power would like to create

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a nation of State-dependent assisted people, for every bagatelle they want new laws as usual "there are not enough laws". All the political parties are competing in this game, magnifying the State's discretionary power and that of its officials, pigs and bureaucrats – their power – ; eroding individual freedom.

They want to make us think that everything can be resolved to the tune of laws and decrees. From obligatory crash helmets to euthanasia the State pokes its nose in, like a sewer-rat nibbling away at individual liberty.

The State definitely connives in heavy drug dealing. This market is firmly in the hands of the mafia. We also know the latter's secret of eternal youth: living in cohorts with political power, the men of the Mafia and the men of the State are indistinguishable.

The State intoxicates and incessantly hammers us with the offer of its "junk", makes itself indispensable, and gives away a few doses free. Its ideal is a flock of drug addicts. Drugged from childhood to the idea of the ineluctability of the State, a pitiful herd of assisted people who can no longer do without it,

who make indiscriminate use of its "services", no less corrupt servants than their bosses, only more unfortunate. A fix of official forms queues at the counters, up to the eyes in letters of introduction.

The list of toxic State substances as well as heroin and cocaine, is unfortunately very long and painful: DC - PCI - MSI - PSDI - PLI - PR - DP - VERDI (political parties) - CGIL - CISL - UIL (trades unions) - IVA - IRPEF- IRPEG - ILOR - UNATANTUM - TIKET (taxes) - RAI (TV) - MOD 101 - MOD 740 (more taxes) - ENI - IRI - ENIMONT - A GIP (multinationals) - USL (health body) - GESCAL (more tax) - PT (post office) - FS (railways) - TABACCO - ALCOHOL - PETROL - CARABINIERI - POLICE - FINANCE POLICE - ARMY - NAVY - AIR FORCE SCHOOL - ELECTIONS - JUDICIARY - PRISON

Whoever recognises something they cannot do without in these initials is already a drug addict.

STATE - MAFIA - HEROIN  
ABOLITION OF THE DRUG LAWS  
PAWS OFF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

## How We Got to Attack: Early Modern European Insurrectionist Thinking

*Insurrection* was a magazine that attempted to articulate a revolutionary perspective in English that largely existed only in Italian (1982 - 1989). It was the work of Jean Weir (Elephant Editions), Alfredo Bonanno, and a host of anon. In their own words...

*Capitalism contains deep contradictions which push it towards processes of adjustment and evolution aimed at avoiding the periodic crises that afflict it; but we cannot cradle ourselves waiting for these crises. When they happen they will be welcomed if they respond to the requirements for accelerating the elements of the insurrectional process. In the meantime, for our part, we are preparing ourselves and the exploited masses for insurrection.*

*In this sense we consider the time is always ripe for the next insurrection. Better a failed insurrection than a hundred vacillations that cause the failure of a hundred occasions from which it might have been possible for the final revolution to break out. We are therefore against those who say that the recent defeat of the revolutionary movement should make us reflect and conclude that we should be more prudent. We consider that the time for insurrection has come precisely because it is always time to fight, whereas procrastinating is useful only for capital. To prepare for insurrection means to prepare the subjective conditions (personal and material) which consent a specific anarchist minority to create the indispensable circumstances for the development of the insurrectional process. Although insurrection is a mass phenomenon, and would risk aborting immediately if it were not. Its beginning is always the result of the action of a decided minority, a handful of brave ones capable of attacking the nerve centres of the partial objective to be reached.*

*We must be very clear on this point. The tasks of the anarchist struggle against power can be extremely varied, but all—in our opinion—must be coherently directed towards preparing the insurrection.*

In this insurrectionary spirit we publish this omnibus edition (everything short of 30 year old, time-sensitive reportbacks).

For the creation of indispensable circumstances!

